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ABSTRACT

This document presents the proceedings of an invitational conference on African and Afro-American Studies. Papers presented at the conference were: (1) Negritude in Retrospect; (2) The Assertation of Blackness in the United States and Africa; (3) The Afro-American Materials in the Predominantly White High School. Discussions were centered around (1) the study of Haiti, a bridge between African traditions and the Afro-American experience; (2) approaches to African literature; (3) African studies within the liberal arts curriculum; (4) African Studies; and (5) the de-colonization of African and Afro-American studies. (HS)

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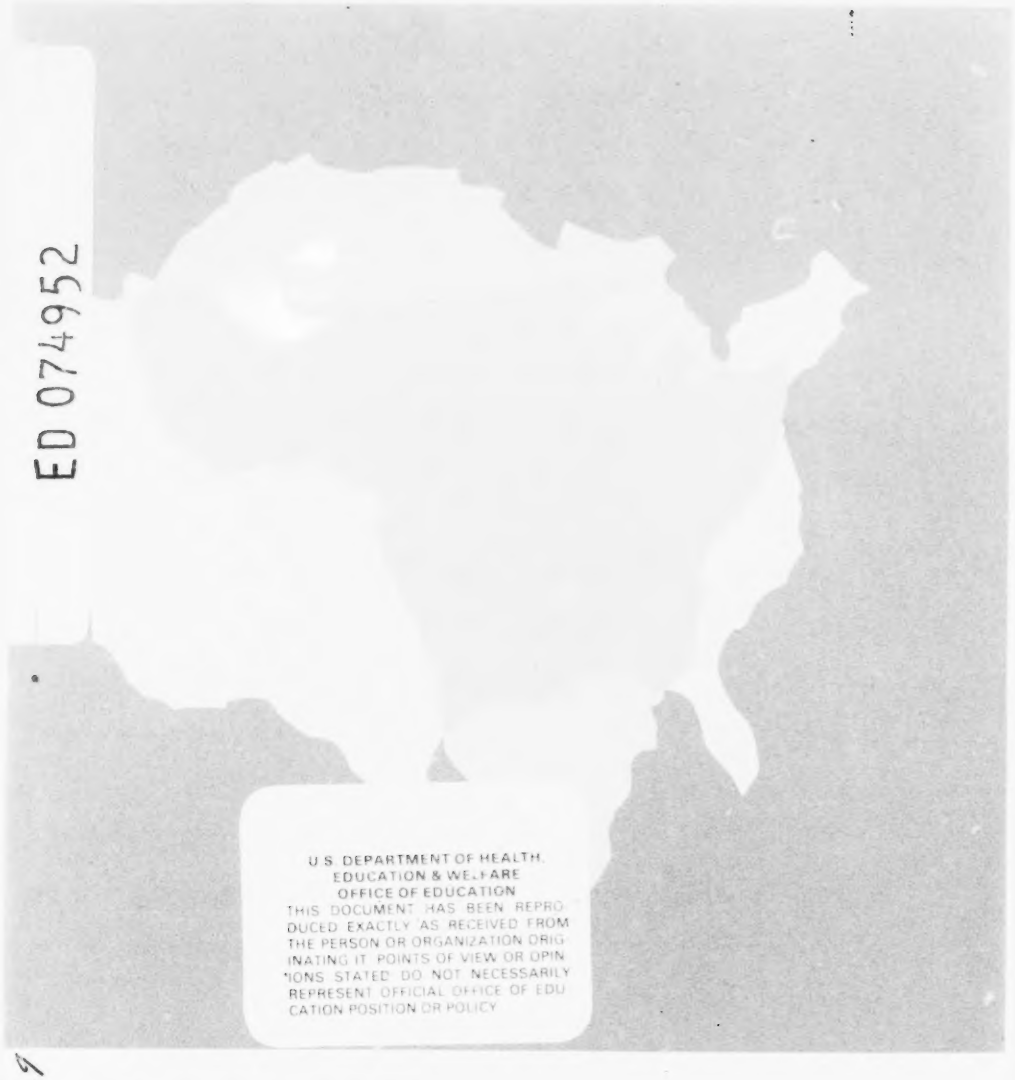

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CURRICULAR APPROACHES
TO
AFRICAN AND AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES

six institutions' consortium

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Appreciation is also due to the participants in the workshop for contributing their time and talent to the proceedings. To the program participants and evaluators who shared their expertise and experience, we extend our sincere appreciation.

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CURRICULAR APPROACHES

TO

AFRICAN AND AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES

Workshop Proceedings
African and Afro-American Studies

Greensboro, North Carolina
April 18, 1970

Editor: Ewa U. Eko
SIX INSTITUTIONS' CONSORTIUM

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In the fall of 1969, the Six Institutions' Consortium began a three-phase project on African and Afro-American Studies Curriculum supported by a grant from the U. S. Office of Education. Essentially, the entire project has to do with curricular revision and cultural enrichment with specific subject-matter emphases during each of three academic years. The first phase focuses on the Social Sciences and English and Literature; the second phase on the Arts and Humanities; and the third phase on the Life Sciences. Each phase spans an academic year during which resources and facilities are provided to enhance a proper and legitimate accomplishment of the curricular task.

On April 18, 1970, an Invitational Conference on African and Afro-American Studies was held at Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C. for the purpose of sharing the output and experience resulting from the first phase of the project.

The workshop brought together more than two hundred educators and students from forty-three colleges and universities and thirty-four high schools across the nation. There were in attendance professors, administrators, teachers and students from large, small, public and private institutions from California to Georgia, Arkansas to New York and Wisconsin to North Carolina. Also in

NEGRITUDE IN RETROSPECT

It is a fact of dramatic consequence that Negritude was not conceived by Africans in the motherland but by those influenced by the spirituals, blues, and jazz of blacks in the United States of America; the sound and dance of Cubans; the batucada, samba, and frevo and capoeira of Brazil; the meringue and petro of Haiti; the meringue of the Dominicans and Puerto Ricans; the calypso of Trinidad and Jamaica; and not to mention the biguine of Martinique and Guadeloupe--all of which originated from Africa!!

It was from the foregoing rhythmic chants and dances that Negritude was born--not in Africa, but in the West Indies, which was also watched by the black world of Africa. Those concerned, far from regretting this opportunity, welcomed it with pride and gratitude.

Let me bring to your attention one of them--Alioune Diop, whose merit and prestige are undoubtable. In his capacity as the general secretary of the African Cultural Society, he was always able to call upon Langston Hughes, Price-Mars, Cesaire, others and myself to spread the word from one continent to the other, from one country to the other, from one town to the other, as done recently by Cesaire and myself in Italy.

typical postwar year. A year that was, in fact, a milestone in the history of the diffusion in Europe of what was known later as Negro art--a term which reflects a condescending admiration, whatever might be the attitude of the users; but in a more general way, of the aesthetic production of a people of whom Gobineau, a theoretician of racism, had recognized since 1804, as possessing in the highest degree, the general faculty, without which there can be no art.

In this same 1920, there was the first presentation of Negro art in the Parisian gallery of Devambez. There were many signs indicating that Negro art and African literature were of such a nature that they would interest a vast public in Germany and France. One should remember Michel Leiris at least.

As I have said previously, 1920 marks a milestone in our history. The following year in the area of general literature, Rene Maran became the first to highlight French language in Africa. Batouala, which received the Goncourt Prize in 1921 and has just been re-edited, marks the starting point of Negro literature in French. It is one of the originators of the idea of choice of language to express a background which had not been fashioned the dialects of their ancestors. This choice, which appears strange at first, has two essential points.

First, the black race became aware of itself through exasperation and pain. Little by little, a collective sense of race was formed, with the common contrasts like ancestral level, racial

persecution, and identical "mentality". But missing was the essential vector of thought which is language. Africans and West Indians have different languages, complicated by countless dialects and lack of a stable written literature. Thus, French, like English for some and Portuguese or Spanish for others, offered itself as an excellent means for Negro expression. Like English, Portuguese and Spanish, French made it possible for all blacks to communicate with some words and identifiable symbols. It made possible a permanent correspondence between Negroes in the West Indies and those of Africa and Madagascar. It brought to fruition in the writing domain, a communion which is of blood, soul and soil. And it exists in black people as much in Paris as in Dakar and beyond. From 1921, thoughts and hopes of all French-speaking Negroes came to cross one another and prepare the Negritude movement.

How does one analyze critically the meaning and idea of Negritude? How does one point out its interest? How, without paying lip service, does one examine this literary movement of which Jean Paul Satre affirmed constituted one of the greatest revolutionary acts of the postwar years? It is not possible to do this without taking into account the social, political and cultural framework out of which this movement grew.

This event would not have been possible at the end of World War I without exterior forces, whose life-giving break was to accelerate the awakening of regional and racial consciousness.

This consciousness was not racist, for there is a great difference between racial sentiment and racism.

Let us listen to Paulette Nardal, who once made this point in a very pertinent way, when she made a conscious examination of the generation which preceeded ours in the French West Indies.

> Trained until then in an unqualified admiration of French culture and society, the elite drew closer to the masses, and each in turn discovered in himself a West Indian soul which slowly became conscious of belonging to a specific human group. Some subjects which were formerly better left undiscussed, became less and less taboo. Until then, one could not talk of slavery nor proclaim pride in the black race without appearing elated or greatly original.

The fact was that this West Indian elite, who alone was articulate, had doubtless become a victim of an inferiority complex. Rene Menil explains this in historical terms as a consequence of replacing the repressed African spirit with slave consciousness, a representative entreaty of the master, an entreaty instituted at the base of the community and which was to watch over it like a garrison.

The semi-despising indifference of not too long ago has changed into interest shown by the elder generation and a sincere enthusiasm on the part of the new generation.

Race consciousness was rudely awakened in the West Indian whose attitude to this differed from that of the black American, Brazilian and Cuban due to the politics of extreme assimilation of Gallicanism and of whitening, and for which a price had to be paid. Products of a mixture of three races--black, white and red, brought

as an Afro-culture, ignorant of the history of their own country, of their continent, the history of the black race and the American Indian, they ended up by turning towards the element from which they could derive honor and pride.

The situation of the black North American was totally different, and circumstances forced the making of a comparison with his West Indian counterpart. According to Paulette Nardal, they too were not a pure race, but the systematic contempt in which white America held blacks, forced them to look to the past of the black race for motives of pride, historically, culturally and socially. In this way, the idea of race was a necessity in solving the ethnic problem of U.S.A., and soon after the abolition of slavery, became a preoccupation for them.

It is not without interest that one asks along with Paulette Nardal, which has been the affect of this situation on Afro-American literature, that which was born of the Harlem Renaissance, heralding the New Negro.

As is generally common with all conquered peoples, one observes three characteristic periods in the cultural evolution of black Americans: First, a period of indispensable acquisitions during which the blacks imported from Africa had to learn a new language and to adapt to a new situation. A period of the absorption of black elements by the white. A period of docile imitation of their models. These can be deduced from accounts of slavery which have retained the freshness and purity of their original

traditions; thanks to the use of dialect. The second period was that of the anti-slavery struggle, which produced a literature of controversy, of moral and religious protest. The third period witnessed the accession of blacks to "real" culture, with two opposing tendencies: that of Dunbar and that of DuBois.

It was not until the 20's and 30's that there arose a generation of individual writers who no longer voiced cries of complaint and hope, but substituted demands for justice, and openly determined to make it known. They affirmed clearly the quality of blackness, its entitlement to civil and cultural rights which DuBois defended so eloquently.

It was the birth of the Harlem Renaissance, and [illegible] Negro" in whose name Langston Hughes proclaimed in a manifesto:

> We, creators of the new generation, we want to examine our black personality, without shame or fear. If it pleases the whites, we are very happy, if it does not please them, it does not matter. We know that we are beautiful, and ugly too. The tam-tam cries, the tam-tam laughs. If it pleases the men of color, we are very happy. If it does not, it matters little. This is why we are building our temples, solid temples as we know how to erect, and we shared ready at the mountain top, moving freely.

The profound sense of this manifesto was realized by the pioneers of Negritude--Cesaire, Senghor, Birago Diop, others and myself. We were determined to follow in the footsteps of Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, and likewise Jean Toomer, Sterling Brown, Claude McKay--the author of Banjo who realized in 1930 (a date to remember) a merited success. Cesaire, Senghor and myself helped

as much as we could to make all of their works known to many after opening the eyes of our companions and sympathizers to reality.

Starting from this immersion, which Banjo was for us, and followed by Home to Harlem, Banana Bottom, not even mentioning their poems, the writings of Langston Hughes, Sterling Brown, Walter White, led us to one revelation after the other; discovering other lands than ours, other Africas; Marcelino Arrozarena, Alejo Carpentier; in Brazil with Jorde de Lima, Mario de Andrade, Lima Barreto, Solano Trindade; in Spanish America with Casillo A. Thomson, Jerge Artel, Candelavio Obeso; the British West Indies with C. L. R. James, George Padmore, A. Campbell of Jamaica; Haiti with Jacques Roumain, Roussan Camille, Jean Briere, Rene Belance and before all those, Jean Price-Mars, the father of Haitianism and of Negritude.

In the West Indies, as in the U.S.A., the new awakening of race consciousness was characterized by three periods. First, the struggle to obtain liberty and political rights for all categories of the black race . . . The second is the initiation with literature of the conquering race, which was to open an outlaying exotism and convention of imitation as feverish as it is sterile . . . The third, that of the exodus to Europe and the double exile, in the course of which at last the West Indies are given, implicit or not, an individual, social and racial consciousness.

The period between the 20's and 30's was one of great fertility. The first Pan Negro Congress, due to the initiative of

DuBois, took place in Paris. The theories of Marcus Garvey were in the air. Rene Maran published Batouala. It was the time of the Paris publication of the first black journal, Les Continents of the Paria, directed by Ho Chi Minh and Lamine Senghor, of the Depeche Africaine launched by Maurice Satineau of Guadeloupe, of the Revue Du Monde Noir, founded by Haitian Dr. Sajous with the collaberation in the secretariat of translation of Paulette Nardal, bilingual review, whose time of office will be recaptured by Presence Africaine fifteen years later.

The disappearance of Revue Du Monde Noir accelerated the historical movement leading to the birth of Negritude with the appearance in 1933 of L'Etudiant Noir, a result of the initiative of Cesaire, Senghor and myself.

Historical accuracy demands one recall that a year before this, Legitime Defence had appeared--A Periodical of Struggle which survived only one issue but sufficiently packed with rich ideas and views to make it worthy of preservation. Etienne Lero and other West Indians had signed a manifesto, which remains the most insurrectional document of French-speaking colored men.

In an enlightening essay, distinguished by its lucidity, sincerity, and courage, Etienne Lero observed:

> The West Indies, stuffed to bursting with western morals, western culture, western education and white prejudices reveal of her plaguettes exaggerated image of herself. Being a good copy of the pale man replaces both social and poetic reasons. In his taste, he is never decent enough, assiduous enough--"You act like a Negro." It is a thing of honor for him, that a white

> man could read his entire book without guessing his color. Just as ashamed of what he has inherited of African polygamy, he sleeps with his female servants in hiding, even so he takes care to expurgate himself before "chanter" (sic), careful to put himself into a white skin, and leave nothing undone which would betray him. Invariably, he describes scenes for you, or tells you little stories, or hypocrisy opposes him to Louis Napoleon (La France n'a peut-etre du son fastidieux Parnasse qu'au fait que LeComte de Lisle et Dierx etaient reunionnais et Heredia, Cubain).

The poetry of the West Indies ceased to be romantic or symbolic with Etienne Lero, and following him Cesaire, Tirolien, Niger. It was no longer expansive, but more analytical.

Henceforth, the poets of this generation relied upon themselves and through psychoanalysis looked anew into themselves.

Frankly, I agree with Cesaire and Senghor that Lero would have opened the way for Surrealism to be included in what we have agreed to call Negritude. This would have favored expression as the first pleasure of thought. A set of values would have thus established between unconscious poetry and the evolution of human stammerings.

While borrowing from the Surrealistic movement, its automatic writing, its taste for the mysterious, descriptions of dreams, use of all forms of dreams, automatism, hallucinations, astonishment, "fulguration" and of convulsions, neither Lero, Cesaire nor myself lost sight of our origins. Like Lero, we were first of all by instinctive reaction, against Western Civilization and the class of lyrism which Lero himself condemns roundly. In the wake of his efforts, we retained like him not only the range of works of

Lautreamont, Rimbaud, Breton, etc., but firstly the works of the Afro-American writers. According to Lero--

> Hopefully, the wind blowing from black America will quickly rid our West Indies of the abertive fruits of an obsolete culture, which could not attain universality starting from the particular. Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, Sterling Brown, these three revolutionary poets, caused us to become drunk with the African love of life, the African joy of love, the African dream of death.

Death, which neither Lero nor us expected, carried him away on the eve of the declaration of the war. Etienne Lero was and remains in my opinion, the first to give a surrealistic form to creole poetry and thereby made it possible for Negritude to rediscover the sense of our African personality. In 1930, when the racism of Hitler rendered bloody consequences for humanity, Lero's message to our generation transported a great sense of dignity, and the affirmation of the cultural and artistic value of Africa.

After Hitler's explosion of racism, it became a matter of general mobilization, of breaking up of armistice, and the liberation of Europe to which colored men recruited from the four corners of the world greatly contributed.

At the end of World War II, while the countries of the old culture, fatigued by the war which they provoked and fought, began to feel drowsy in a pompous peace, a great cry went up, shaking the Western world to its very roots. The resounding voice of the blackmen, for so long shunted aside, was at last making itself heard in a stupified world. It was expressing reproachfully and

in French, the long list of complaints, of sufferings, of bitterness so long endured.

Through Negritude, black poetry was pricking the consciences of men. But let us not be deceived. Negritude was not, as I have attempted to show, a sudden movement. It was the result of a slow and difficult gestation whose origins predate the war.

Encouraged by this example, novelists, essayists, historians, dramatists, and young poets exalted in songs and works of multiple and diverse beauty, the sufferings and the affirmation of his humanity.

Negritude, in our interplanatory era, is a means and not an end.

THE ASSERTION OF BLACKNESS IN THE UNITED STATES AND AFRICA

George V. Roberts

I cannot resist the temptation for acknowledging the presence of many, many people in the audience who have contributed so much to what I am today. I would like to recognize in the audience people who have helped mold me at Virginia State, Albany College, and Hampton Institute. I see so many friends here. I really feel humble. In this day and age of the Afro-American dashiki please note that I am the same George Roberts. And it is with humility that I acknowledge whatever you did for me when you didn't realize you were doing anything. I would also like to express my gratitude to an eminent philosopher, Mr. Damas, who I am sure has curtailed his speech just because of me. I should feel guilty, but I don't.

What I hope to do in the very brief moments allowed me is to indicate the diversities that are oftentimes forgotten, especially as we find ourselves beleaguered by the so-called generation gap, by the so-called confusion as to who is entitled to being called Black and so on.

I would like to start by putting things in context, by going back to my native home of Africa for just a few proverbs. We are an illiterate people essentially. Sometimes our Black brothers forget this as they teach us Swahili which we cannot understand all over Africa. I am African, I do not speak Swahili, I don't

Carolina. To me it is very interesting to look back at 1796 and then to recall the sit-in movements early in the 60's right here in this city, and then to listen to the news broadcast as late as yesterday about people arguing over the relevancy of the traditional kind of bussing--vis-a-vis the newly imposed unjust cross-country bussing. But it is significant historically to see something like this about these petitioners who were petitioning their country.

Some of you might recall the case of four men, led by Junitor Nicholson, who was the only literate of the group. And what is significant here is this concluding paragraph of this petition, and I quote: "May we not be allowed [he was asking way back in 1797 of the United States House of Representatives] to consider this stretch of power refirmed as a reminder to the fact that free men have had to flee their loved ones, their homes, and so on, to a place where they were chased like criminals to be sent back." He concludes by asking them, "Can we not consider this stretch of power morally and politically a government defect if not a direct violation of the declared fundamental principles of the Constitution?" And finally, "Is not some remedy for an evil of such magnitude highly worthy of the deep inquiry and unfeigned zeal of the supreme legislative body of a free and enlightened people?"

Those of you who are students of history will recall that this supreme legislative body of the so-called or "presumed free and enlightened people" which has to debate (unlike the resolutions of

Carswell and Haynsworth and the performance of your supreme paramount chief, President Nixon), rejected the petition. In short, then, when one compares this petition with the assertions of a Langston Hughes, of a Claude McKay or Alouine Diop, one is made to realize the difficulty in which people, despite their hardships, have had to keep on asserting their right to dignity. And I think that it is worth noting here that in spite of it all, in this assertiveness, both in Africa and the United States, there has been a retention of pride. A pride which sometimes although masked in fear, in bitterness, in sorrow, has unconsciously envinced the sort of pride to which John Locke, way back in 1859, was making humor of. I think it is somewhat appealing.

Listen to John Locke way back then. And I use this deliberately for our young friends who I sometimes assume that the older generation are stupid and indifferent and blame us for the generation gap. Things have been going on with ballots, petitions, and so on. It was John Locke who said, "If any man does not answer my calling, that is his [damned] business." I insert "damned" here because I think that he may have wanted to say it. He goes on to say:

> I shall give myself no trouble because he lacks good taste. When I contrast the fine tough muscular system, the beautiful rich color, the full broad features, and the gracefully frizzled hair of the Negro with the delicate physical organization, wane color, light hair, sharp features of the Caucasian, I am inclined to believe that when white man was created Nature was pretty well exhausted. But determined to

> keep up appearances, she fixed up his features and did the best she could. I would like for you to understand that I not only love my race but I am pleased with my color.

Putting aside humerous episodes, I think we ought to recognize that there has been a continuity in black assertiveness. I did give honor to the state of North Carolina, to the students of A & T who went and did their own thing. I also give honor to the Black Panther Party who came out in 1966 with their own platform, their own expectations. What I think is important in a historical context may be of relevance here to the African value system of continuity, of cyclism. The family that includes the living, the dead, and the yet unborn, is to recognize that the assertion of Blackness is not born yesterday or today it has always been there. What is different perhaps is an indication relevant to a realistic assessment of the mood of the times.

With this in mind then, I think it ought to be said that debate should not cease because there is disagreement over aspirations or expectations. My esteemed colleague yesterday made the point of one of the problems African nations are facing--the problem of who to define as a citizen and who an alien. I think even for those of our leaders in Africa, as would be true for our leaders here in this country, whether it is Robert Weaver or Roy Wilkins or Ron Karenga, is to understand that brotherhood does not in fact require consistent agreement. After all, it comes again from a little African proverb which states simply this: "That the

ruin of a nation begins in the homes of its people." This is a language of an illiterate people--people called "uncouth" and "uncivilized," and so on.

I think the most noble thing today is the realization by brothers everywhere not just the philosophers, who were evoking intellectual debate, but the fact that teachers, overburdened oftentimes, and young people can take time out to assess what is going on. And in this assessment, I think we have to bear in mind that all of us, those who are privileged sometimes to assume positions of leadership with the burden of responsibility that such assumption bears, should never forget that we are products of our environment and we are products of our sub-cultural roots and so on. If this be true, therefore, then the lesson should be put forward that to pursue Blackness ought not to prove discouraging because by necessity a William Tubman does not understand what Blackness is.

The fact of the matter is in most African societies we did not emphasize being reminded that we are black or brown and so on. The matter of pigmentation has never evoked that extreme consciousness. Yet, on the other hand, as Africans we are capable of emphathizing with those of our brothers on these shores who even when they are not black, keep saying to us: "I'm black and I'm proud." In essence, therefore, we must take into consideration the significance of variation in the use of semantics.

Furthermore, we should see a unity here in our common experiences of oppression. Africans have no right to brag that they have won their independence as we sometimes are prone to do. We look at our brothers and say, "You must be fools. Why don't you fight for your independence?" The matter is a different case. We did not get our independence from fighting. We got our independence just because of fate, and I would support the assumption of Raiford Logan that maybe DuBois has been given much more credit than he deserves for Pan-Africanism. We must not forget the universal process of transformation that sometimes attempts on some people good or evil. For in fact, oftentimes, as I said in the little article I wrote several years ago, the destiny of oppressed people, whether we call ourselves Ghanaians, or Black Muslims, or Black Panthers, our destinies are equally being weighed on the same balance. I think it is important, however, that we don't lose cognizance of a vitality of the diversity of the strengths that have contributed to the survival of "Blackness".

In conclusion, I think that all the ideologies that have been projected for us--whether they be Black Power, Pan Africanism, Negritude, Africanism, African Socialism--ought to be seen as just tools for an ultimate emergence of that which, in fact, can project adequately the capacity for justice of which, if our ancestors in Africa are any example available. What I am trying to say, in fact, is that for those "white cousins" who find themselves

unconsciously alining themselves with the consequences of liberation for South Africa or Rhodesia I stand to say, charge me with optimism, charge me with naivety that the very essence of Africaness would prevent a wholesale massacre of whites. I think that if there is a future for Africa, it is the ability, the willingness of Africans, and I would like to see a Black people who survived so much hardships through the centuries of being truly participants in meaningful social and cultural pluralism.

Finally, I think the assertion of Blackness in this country as well as in Africa--as well as in other segments of the third world for that matter--need to be enriched by diversity. In fact, even though when I examine the Black Panther Party platform pronouncements I see a necessary emotionalism, I see rationality. I can emphathize with them. Even when I read the arrogrance that emenates from Marcus Garvey way back in the 1920's and the understandable misunderstanding by a Kwame Nkrumah in the 1950's, I can emphathize with this. What this calls for is not rejection, but a proper allocation of the relevant meaning and usefulness of all in our past emanating from rebellion, from riots, for this quest for political power. These, in fact, will continue and in my judgement we ought to look for a viable ever-living process of Black assertiveness wherever they may occur.

THE AFRO-AMERICAN EXPERIENCE AND THE WRITING OF HISTORY--PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

Richard Bardolph

As the battle-scared veteran of many a panel, some of them before students, those awesome lions to whom it can be the most exquisite cruelty to throw Christians sometimes, one should know better than to accept this role particularly because I suppose we bring this kind of treatment upon ourselves. When you accept a place on the panel, the assumption is that you are acquiescing in the suggestion that you are an expert. Let me assure you that most people end up on panels because somebody has done a very good job of twisting arms. I will make some very modest suggestions this morning.

I was asked to talk about the writing of Afro-American history and I suppose inevitably I will be talking particularly about the problems one encounters particularly if one is a white writer of Afro-American history. I am afraid that I am more sure of what some of the problems are than I am of the solutions. I am going to repress the temptation to talk about what historians are all about, though I have the feeling that this is knowledge that is not very widely shared. We have been very ostentatious ignored, I would say, during most of the history of our craft. Just now, of course, we are getting a little more attention. People are shouting at us and telling us how to handle the kinds of problems

that we have been setting ourselves. I am going to skip over a philosophical disquisition on the uses that historians serve--maybe we will have an opportunity to throw them in later in the course of the discussion period.

I would like to turn at once to the very particular function that can be served by those of us who have interested ourselves particularly in the history of the Black American. That, of course, has a special dimension quite apart from the usual function that the historian serves for the society in whose service he is enlisted. The specialist, in historical analysis and in reconstructing the record, who devotes himself to the theme of the Black experience in America can serve, modestly I suggest, as both an aid to the Black American and the white American.

There are, of course, certain obvious observations that can be made here and I won't dwell on them. For example, the accumulation of the record of the Black achievement in America has a great deal to say, of course, to Blacks. It inspires. It provides models for emulation. It reassures people who, by the incapacities that have been forced upon them, might have come to doubt their own capacities. It also, on the other side of the "color line", forces whites to abandon some of their stereotypes to accord the kind of respect that is due to their Black countrymen. It compels them to reassess their estimate of what the Black potential is. That is a rather obvious by-product, I would hope, of writing more fully the record of the Black experience in America.

It is another service, of course, that is performed when the historian, whatever his color, centers upon the injustices; when he lays bare, with pityless publicity, the affronts, the exclusions, the rejections that have faced our Black countrymen. Again, this can stir very fruitful indignations both in the Black community and in the white, or in the total American community. I hate to think of them as being separate entities. There is a constant need, of course, for continual research and the writing of that record of the shames of the past, which if nothing else perhaps will shame some people into abandoning the older inflexible attitudes that they have been absorbing since their earliest childhood. That too, it seems to me, is such an obvious benefit to be derived from the writing of Black history that we need hardly to dwell upon it here.

I think, in addition, and again I will say this only in passing, that society can benefit a great deal by the critical study of the various strategies that have been employed to effect the Black American's social redemption. I mean by that not just those strategies that have proved themselves to be successful, but perhaps even especially those that have not. I find a reluctance when I talk to Black students to even listen to an account for instance, of the NAACP's courtroom battles. They don't want to hear about that. Their reason is that it has not brought very much in the way of real change to the Black community. Again it is a very must thing to differ. We take the position that when we

are tracing social movements of that kind, whether they came to much or not, it is terribly important for society to know all it can know about those efforts. The fact that they did not succeed is an important lesson, too, that will point us to other strategies perhaps and force us to look elsewhere for more fruitful devices for achieving these ends.

I would rather, in the little time that I have, concentrate upon what seems to me some of the particular difficulties that lie in the path of the historian. I apologize if in some instances these seem to be more particularly appropriate to the dilemma of the white historian who addresses himself to the problem than they do to the Black. For one thing, there is a scarcity, a paucity, of the historical record that has embarassed the efforts of historians who want to reconstruct the Black American's story since their arrival in this country in 1619. By the very conditions of life under slavery and under the modified slavery that existed thereafter--after the Emancipation Proclamation--necessarily their work was not appraised. There were not considerable numbers of letters and diaries and memoirs that were left for future historians to exploit. Everybody knows that literacy was, in fact, forbidden and there were severe punishments for those who acquired that art. So that the record is almost totally bare, at least comparatively speaking, of an accumulated written record.

That has persisted, I would argue, long beyond the time when literacy began to be an incident of Black American life. A means

for accumulating these data, for preserving them and making them maximally accessible to scholars simply weren't there. So we have an enormous gap of the raw materials out of which history is compounded, out of which historians spin their heritage. That is within itself a crippling disability, but it also carries with it an enormous temptation, and that is, to invent your data or to take what little pieces of it there are and inflate them out of all proportion to their substantive content. You know you can parlay a very considerable story on very little circumstantiate evidence--a problem that the historian must constantly be on guard against particularly when he has other reasons for wanting to besides the intellectual ones. He is moved by pathos, for instance, and simple human compasion to supply the record with a narrative that will move people's obstinate prejudices. There is enormous temptation to invent data or to exploit far beyond what the intrinsic content of data justifies--such little evidence as may be available.

That problem is further compounded by the fact that while the record was not accumulating from the sources that could best have supplied us with information for the future writing of this history, it is not forthcoming from the Black community. Whites were compiling inleading letters and diaries, and of course, they were necessarily considering the relationship between the races, a source that is highly suspect in our own time to reconstructing the story of Black America. I mean to say they had their reasons:

whether it was guilt; whether it was the need to justify the inferior position to which Blacks were consigned in America; or from whatever source. You see, not only is there an absence of data accumulated from the Black community itself, there is a surplus of distorted information of the other side and that is about all historians have to deal with, consequently for something like 90 percent of it.

Then when you recall, too, that the training of historians has been largely--until relatively recently--in the hands of the establishment and you can hear the buzz of wasps over the heads of graduate schools--until very recently--you have another catastrophic impediment to the growth of a dependable historical literature on the Black American until our own time. Some people, I think, are inclined to minimize that disability because they think anybody can write history--that training isn't very much a thing so far as historians are concerned. You have to be trained to be a mathematician or physicist, but anybody is a historican, you know. May I at least suggest that history is an extremely difficult task. It is both an art and a science. It is a highly sophisticated discipline and it requires a long apprentiship and as some of you know, even after this apprentiship has been served some people bundle it very badly for the rest of their lives. You don't make instant historians and the fact that there was no systematic training available, until late in our own time, to Black Americans, and the fact that such historical training as was available to whites who

might be interested in that theme had to rely upon a rather grossly inadequate supply of raw materials. And he was usually being trained by a people who had racist conceptions that he was infusing into his attitudes--you have another major difficulty that lies in the path of the historian.

There are also a number of pressures, even now, that we have upon people who have some adequate, perhaps professional, training in both emotional and social reasons that induce him to leave out some things and to expand others and produce in the end a distorted record. When you take, for example, the quite legitimate effort of historians to seek out the Black heroes in the Afro-American past precisely because the record is so sketchy on that point, there is an enormous temptation to yield, you know, to the promptings of pathos and of zeal of one kind or another to exalt individuals on very little evidence so that there will be a pantheon that is being filled. I am sure that you all can call to mind heroes in the Afro-American pantheon about whom all that we know could probably be compressed into two or three sentences, but it would enable some people to write books on them and certainly a lot of people have named schools after them. Well this is especially true if a man is a person of goodwill and wants, of course, the right to prevail, right as distinguished from the wrong, and he is therefore under very considerable pressure which, if not self generated, comes from the outside to come up with certain conclusions that will help the cause rather than perhaps the strictly historical.

There is a survey that indicates so much distrust on both sides that there is a danger on the part of white historians in order to exculpate themselves or rather to defend themselves against the charge of being unfair that they overcompensate, you know, and the result can be historical work that is far from dependable and accurate. It proceeds out of good reasons and good intentions but that is no less regretable for all of that. There are also increasing pressures on the white historian imposed by the publisher. The publisher will tell him: "don't say that, don't talk about that, that won't sell right now. . . Furthermore, in fact, we doubt that you should be writing this book at all because most of our readers should believe that no white man could ever say anything this significant about blacks". Because of this, you know, present emphasis upon this distrust that has led people to say quite explicitly that no white man can ever understand a Black man and, therefore, should never write about him, but on the other hand Blacks can understand whites perfectly, they see right through them. In fact, I have heard this seriously argued at the American Historical Association meeting last December that Black history ought to be taught only by Blacks and white history ought to be taught only by Blacks too because the whites are the victims of these myths, you know, that have been steadily invented in the black canvas.

That is a kind of myopia approach to the problem of telling it the way it is, the way the white man himself cannot. In short

this tends to add up in the end in some instances to at least for the present--a temporary moratorium. We must not say anything good whatsoever about the white community, and you must not say anything bad whatsoever about the Blacks because the principle of inclusion and exclusion is that of the contribution that it will make to the present resolution. I speak of this with some pain and I say it with so many words, and I will bring this to a conclusion very soon, perhaps, have a chance to say what I didn't get to say when people began to attack us. I find, for instance, that you can't anymore get much of an enthusiastic hearing in large sectors of the reading public and among students too about anything that suggests that there has been any progress of late they particularly want you to stay off that. I think the most conspicuous form of that is that they don't want to hear about the Brown decision and about the ruling of October 29, 1969 and so on. They don't want to hear about progress and that distorts the record--that will give people the illusion that we can rely on those slow and majestic processes, you know, to bring about the better day that we all aspire to. Rather than sow those disillusionary hopes, don't talk about that. I even encountered (for instance to give you a very innocent example of this--John Locke was mentioned) this professor the other day told me that his Black students won't allow you to talk about John Locke because John Locke was not in the anti-slavery movement, therefore, leave him out of any discussion of the development of the western political tradition. I mentioned

in a class day before yesterday and was wrathed severely for my trespass, that the First World War cut off European immigration and that gave the black worker his chance and he began moving into Chicago and Detroit and so on, and filling in these places. Again the implication--I was told there--is that the Black man only disturbs himself as a reaction to what white folks are doing, so leave that out. I could multiply instances of this kind. I know that you get the point I am trying to make and it is a difficult one particularly if you are trying to spell out the record the way it looks on the basis of the hard evidence. Well, in short, there is for the present a disposition to press the historian to write only on those matters that make an obvious contribution to the Negroes' immediate emancipation. Anything other than that is delatory. It is a snare, a delusion. It is intended to slow things down.

One final observation. . . one has the feeling when you are up there in your lonely study and you are trying to write for all those people out there and, of course, there are very many diff rent publics and the publics are internally divided among themselves, but what one does hear coming when the shouting has died is a voice that keeps telling you that part of the mistake these days is to take the position that reason even rationally itself is racist. It is an instrument of the strong. It is an instrument of the privileged. It is used to exploit those who have been dehumanized by the inferior position to which they have been relegated. . . they have been denied access to, you know, the

sorts of experiences that sharpen the human mind. Therefore, the appeal should no longer be at least for the present, to rational factors but to feeling, to emotion, to soul, etc.

The anti-intellectual mistake I think prevades for the present at least in the enterprise of writing Black American History. And it takes a rather tough-skinned historian to resist those pressures. It takes a tough-skinned historian also to feel the barbs that are hurled at them these days and may perhaps be hurled at me today. I appeal to you that I am a minority, you know. I was telling somebody the other day that it is a politic justice in this. For once we, in my community, are feeling what it means to be disparaged because of our race. It is a very healthy thing for us. I have benefited by it. In the course of the conversation some of you said to me, "Why do they pick on you? You have not been a Klansman or anything like that. You give your whole life to this cause." I said that makes it all the more accurate, the transcription of what we have been doing to the Black. We have been utterly indiscriminate about them. We lump them all together. They should lump us all together for a while too, and that is the way we will learn and perhaps get some of the internal psychological experience that is a necessary component to a social commentator. I will stop commenting right now.

THE USE OF AFRO AMERICAN MATERIALS IN
THE PREDOMINANTLY WHITE HIGH SCHOOLS

[illegible]

I am going to ask you to please excuse this personal reference that I will make, but I think it does illustrate what I shall like to say right at this time. My husband and I go out to California quite often to see our son and daughter-in-law and when we go, our daughter-in-law always has her thing to do by way of our entertainment. So the last time we were there, she carried us to this very exclusive Japanese place for our dinner. The first course served was a fish soup. I got my mouth full of fish soup and I began wondering what I was going to do with it. I looked at my daughter-in-law and, of course, this was her thing so she had to eat the soup. She showed no reaction on her face whatsoever. I looked at my son and he was a little more expressive, but I said I know where I will still get the truth of the situation. So I looked at my husband. My husband had his mouth full and he was wondering just as I was, what he was going to do with that mouth full of soup. Finally his comment was, "They must have gotten the embalming fluid mixed up with the soup." So I think this morning, from these eminent speakers that we have had, Dr. Breathett got the embalming fluid mixed up with the fish soup.

I believe a key word today is identity. As I look over the list of eminent speakers and panelists we have here, I begin wondering how can I identify with the group. I first decided that I was the only westerner, not southerner--the Senate might not approve of my nomination--until I noticed that two of the guest speakers are from California, so that deduction would not hold. So although I cannot feasibly establish my identity with the panelists, I am a classroom teacher of many years, and therefore I identify with my co-workers who are in the audience as elementary and high school teachers. I want you to know that I closely identify with you. I know your problems, I understand your wants, your needs, and your desires. So I do have an audience after all.

The year 1968 stands out as a year in which schoolmen opened up a new area of instruction--the study of Negro History and Culture. Under pressure and with an urgency seldom experienced in United States schools, curriculum workers labored through the year to prepare units and courses dealing with Afro-Americanism, Negro History, or music and literature. Pressure came first and most frequently from Black students and their parents. Negro organizations were a close second in the movement. Big city school systems were the most energetic in developing units to guide students in understanding and appreciating the Afro-American presence in the United States. A frantic search for integrated teaching materials got under way. Publishers and film makers rushed preparation of books, pamphlets, and audio-visual materials giving new emphasis

to Black America. Yet no national professional policies on teaching about the Negro came into being at this time.

In that same year, figures indicate that twenty-three states did take steps to begin including the Negro in American History, eight of them being Southern or border states. I must admit that my Arkansas is not in the number. Arkansas has adopted no policy on the teaching of Negro History as of now. In keeping with the trend, North Carolina State Department of Education, I noticed, prepared and distributed to United States History teachers of grades eight and eleven a guide to teaching Negro History and Culture. The teaching of Negro History in Arkansas is left up to the policy of the respective districts which, in turn, leave it up to individual teachers. I have had no special pressure not to teach it, neither have I had any administrative encouragement in the prediminantly white school to teach it. Questioning our superintendent of instruction of this recently, he admitted, "The Negro's contribution has been short changed," but he said nothing further about what should be done along this line. Fortunately for many of us who came up in Pine Bluff as well as many other systems in the south especially, there have always been black teachers who have emphasized the Negro's contribution to the American way of life. In this connection, I think of one teacher in particular who made the inclusion of Negro History his partake.

A word about attitudes is of utmost importance--attitudes of the teacher and attitudes of the students. The teacher must be

genuinely enthusiastic about the materials he is teaching. He must not approach the subject apologetically nor with an attitude that this material is of insignificant value to the total program of American growth and progress. He must not be resentful of the terms, Negro, Afro-American, or Black, as they arise in discussion. I can remember on one occasion that there was almost a terrible confrontation in my classroom when the word slipped out. Sometimes I think it is not intentional, and then at other times the word "Negra" or "Nigger" have been used so generally that I don't think that they really mean to offend. These words just slip out. So on one occasion the word "Nigger" slipped out and it was a Negro boy sitting right next to this white boy who used the word. If I hadn't been quick at the trigger, I don't know what might have happened on that occasion. I have taken some time to go to the board and write the word Negro and emphasize that the n-e and the g-r-o as spelling Negro, since that is what we have been using. I know that "Negro" now is facade, it is an ugly word and we must use Black, but the word appears in our textbooks and so they have to use the word Negro. I have tried as best I could to get them to say "Negro" instead of "Negra" or "Nigger."

There will be many occasions when the Black teacher will be inclined to play upon the wrongs which have been inflicted upon the Negro. But one's better judgement will advise that the classroom is not the place for a display of sensationalism. To do so will defeat all your goals for teaching the subject. For example,

the break up of Black families when selling slaves down the river can become quite an emotional thing if you will let it become in the classroom. This is not to convey the idea that the Negro's oppression should not be divulged, it should, but not sensationalized. At the same time, it should be made clear that the Negro has always resisted, by various means, his oppression. This should be done as much for the young Blacks as for whites. Young Blacks are inclined to label every Negro over 30 an Uncle Tom whose only defense has been a scratching of the head and in general showing up seeking his defeence to the white man. This idea must be boldly refuted in some of the mere facts. The teacher must strive at all times to give history objectively. Teaching should be done in such a way that acknowledges the area of all racial groups while giving great emphasis to the worthwhile contributions of all components of our pluralistic society.

What are the attitudes of pupils, white and Black? One has to remember that the pupils' attitudes have been formed as a result of many experiences which they have had and the many customs and traditions to which they have been exposed. Many are victims of deep-seeded prejudices and ill-guided misconceptions. Although teachers are trying to refute what has been taught overtly and covertly by parents, teachers, community agencies, and all the mass media of communication, one must remember from the beginning that attitudes do not change quickly and so there will be many who will finish the course with you

as a teacher, holding fast to all of their preconceived myths and prejudices. Some few will experience some change of heart if the right approach has been made.

What are some of the myths that should be corrected? In the meantime, I want you to know that I am trying to keep some of the things in mind that Dr. Bardolph told us with reference to how history is written and that sort of thing. But we do find these myths to exist: (1) that all southern whites held slaves. Some that I have taught held to this idea despite the fact that they observed what showed them that only one in four whites were slave holders or a member of a slave-holding family. A feeling that all whites were members of slave-holding families makes them have a feeling of superiority. . . (2) that all southern whites were wealthy and lived a life of southern affluence. . . (3) that all Negroes were slaves. . . (4) that the slave knew how to do only one thing--work in the tobacco, rice, and cotton fields. . . (5) that the slave was happy in his situation. I have actually had students say that to me, that the slave was happy, he was provided for and therefore, he was happy. He did not have responsibilities on him. Did not Joyce Hishue of Virginia say that the slaves were, perhaps, the happiest and freest people in the world? . . . (6) that the conditions of slavery for the Negro was better than any condition he would have been able to provide for himself. . . . (7) that the struggle for justice on the part of the Black man just began in the 1960's. All Negroes before this time were

docile and complacent. . . (8) th t all Negro legislators of the Reconstruction period were ignorant, inefficient, and dishonest.

Today when many Black youths are so violently anti-white, it is well for them to be reminded that all whites should bot be categorized as Negroes' worst enemies. There are some that have always fought for the Negroes' rights and that many philantropists have contributed generously in making possible higher education for the Negro. To acknowledge this fact does not slant to Uncle Tomism, it might help a young Black to dispell some of his feeling of distrust and harted for all whites which is so prevalent today. Playing on hate will not solve our problems.

My experience in an integrated school--token integration only--was at a high school of approximately 13,000 pupils of which less than 100 were Negroes. In the five sections of 11th grade United States History that I taught totalling 130 pupils, there were only 7 Negroes. So you see that my teaching including the Negro History was predominantly for white students. I firmly believe that the inclusion of Negro History for them is just as important as for Negro students. The history of America is an intergrated history and if any pupils will get the true picture of our nation's history, Afro-American History must be incorporated in the regular United States History course--not taught in a separate course. This applies mainly to high school teaching, of course. If we break down barriers between them and us, they would come to know and respect the Negro's heritage. This brings

to mind the case of a repeater in explaining the barrier between him and me. The former year, he said that I brought in the Negro and his importance to American life too much. Whereupon I asked him to take his textbook and turn to any unit in which he considered mention of the Negro irrelevant. After much confusion, he finally turned to the western movement. When I had him read Chapter 4 of Eyewitness: The Negro and American History by Kate, he came alive in telling the story of James Beckworth and his discovery of a pass through the Sierra Nevadas that was so important to the 'Forty-niners, about George Bush in Oregon and Jacob Dodson in California as well as the thousands of free Negroes who were among the 'Forty-niners.

Incorporating Afro-American History into the American History course requires that the teacher set up specific goals pertaining to this phase of history. Some of these goals might be first, to show that the Negro, too, has made many worthwhile contributions to American growth and development. . . Second, to observe that the Negro made these contributions despite slavery and the various legalized repressions that were heathed upon him. . . Third, to show that the Negro has fought consistently to throw off the yoke of slavery and injustice and to gain the status of first-class citizen. . . Fourth, to instill in Negro students pride in their African and American heritage. . . Fifth, to break down many of the deeply entrenched unfavorable stereotypes which do exist. Perhaps as Dr. Bardolph was saying, we are forming and we do have

some of these stereotypes with reference to the Caucasian race. We don't like to be stereotyped and I don't justify us stereotyping the other folk. Should the students be told that this course will include the history of Negroes as well? Some would say yes; others, no. To make it known at the beginning might make for a clearer understanding of objectives. This also provides the teacher with an opportunity to show how distortion and deletions have come about. I use the inquiry oriented or "discover-for-yourself" approach and was often pleasantly compensated when some pupil discovered for himself that the person under discussion was a Negro.

As was said, our basic text was United States History by Richard Curry, et. al. I believe that Dr. Curry is still at the University of North Carolina here. The book is structured according to the listing of the traditional units in American History progressing from unit one entitled, "The Path to Independence" to unit nine, "Responsibilities of A World Power from 1960". Consistent and generally undramatic references are made to the Negro whether his role is great or small. We contend in various units of study to keep the Negro in proper focus as a constant factor in American History. We try to weave the story of the Negro into each of the units paying attention to biographies of outstanding Negroes of each period at the same time emphasizing the Negro's relationship to the growth and development of each period.

To study biographies alone leaves the Negro in a state of suspension from his environment. To illustrate something of the method used, I shall take the unit on "Division and Reunion." Some reasons for my choice of this unit are: First, with southern white students the Civil War is sine qua non of American History. Not necessarily from the standpoint that it is the pivot around much of American History revolves, but vicariously it gives them an oppoartunity to revel in past glory. Second, the United States History text continues to depict slavery as an abstract political issue with both favorable and unfavorable aspects while they play down moral issues leaving slavery essentially untouched or sugar-coated as a human condition. Third, this period of history is most difficult, the most controversial, the most likely to arouse emotions. If you can hold a shop while plowing through the tempest of the Civil War, you will be able to make a safe landing. This period offers many opportunities for a study of personalities besides the list of whites on whom you must focus attention. Why not introduce to your class Negroes who have left their footprints on this period?

What criteria shall we use in selecting materials from the Afro-American past to be incorporated in a course in American History? In answer to this question I should like to quote Dr. Thomas E. Spencer, Associate Professor of Secondary Adult and Higher Education at Ball State University, Muncie, Indiana. In

the April, 1969 issue of The Social Studies, writing on the place of the Negro in American History, he said:

> The teacher should present as factual as possible an account of those happenings which seem to have figured in a major sense in America's development from colonial times down to the present. I do not wish to argue about the nature of events or to recommend a method of identifying facts. I shall merely assume that there have been events, persons, and movements in America's past that have caused her present existence. I shall assume further that both a writer of history textbooks and the teacher who uses the books have an obligation to call out the most important of these and emphasize them. The constant aim of those who deal with American History should be to present factors which have been prominent in our national development.

Using these criteria, with which I agree, for section of Negroes and Negro-related events for inclusion in the American History narrative, the list will be more limited than if it were being used in teaching special courses or units on the American Negro.

In quoting Dr. Spencer again, "The names that appear in the American story ought to be names of persons who have had a significant impact upon the nation's development and whose omission would leave a gap in the story." In keeping with this criterion, I submit the names of the following Afro-Americans as meriting inclusion in the unit on "division and reunion": Frederick Douglas, who spoke out against slavery and for women's rights, Irish freedoms and other freedoms that involved justice and the rights of man; Harriet Tubman, who boasted that she engineered more than 300 slaves to freedom on her underground railroad and never lost a passenger, thereby gaining the title of "Moses"

of her people; . . . Soujourner Truth, who spoke for women's rights and Negro freedom; Robert Smalls, an ex-slave, who hijacked a confederate shop and traded it to the Union for his freedom and thereby aided the Union cause; Blanche K. Bruce, and ex-slave who became United States Senator from Mississippi, candidate for the Republican Vice-Presidential nomination and was later appointed Registrar of the United States Treasury; . . . Harold Williams, an ex-preacher who occupied the senate seat of Jefferson Davis for two years. Fourteen Negro Congressmen who served between 1870 and 1876; Dred Scott, the subject of the famous decision of 1857 which recognized the Negro as property; P. B. S. Penchback, who served as governor of Louisana when the white governor was removed by impeachment; Elijah McKoy, who invented a lubricating cup that fed oil to parts of a machine while it was in operation thereby aiding the development of transportation and factory machinery; . . . The more than 200,000 Negroes who served in the Union Army and Navy and won 22 medals of honor without whom, Lincoln admitted, it would have been impossible to win the war.

Particularly interesting to the students that I taught were these Negroes of Arkansas and Jefferson County: J. C. Corbin, who was the first Negro graduate of Ohio University and who subsequently became Superintendent of Public Instruction for the state of Arkansas in 1872; E. S. Smooth, Jefferson County Treasurer from 1876 to 1878; Fred Haris, Jefferson County Clerk after the Reconstruction period, 1891--1892; J. C. Battles, Treasurer,

1884--1886; and Wiley Jones, who merited a write up in our local paper just a few days ago as "the operator who organized the first street car system in Pine Bluff." To document all these, a historical report has been made by the former Secretary of State, C. G. Hall in 1958.

Some Negro-related themes of this particular period included John C. Calhoune's contention that slavery in the south was--instead of an evil--a good, a positive good; . . . Abraham Lincoln's first contention that the war was a polite misunderstanding between white gentlemen, a war in no way related to the Negro and slavery, and then later the change which came in 1863 that the Negro was inextricably involved in the root cause of the war and that the war could not be fought without taking him into consideration. One other fact I would like to mention and that is the Klu Klux Klan and other secret organizations which were designed to reduce the Negro to political impudence. One particular student, Michael Woodfield, sat in the back of the room and was just as quiet as he could be. He very seldom responded if you called on him, and never voluntarily. However, when I mentioned the Klu Klux Klan--the KKK--he really came alive! The whole situation of the whole Union-Confederate conflict should surely be well explained to both Blacks and whites. Once when I was teaching at Southeast High School, which is a Black high school, we actually had a Negro boy coming in wearing a confederate cap. I tried to say something to him, but still he felt

that this was his cap and he had the right to wear it. But I don't think that we find them like that today.

I would like to say just a little bit more about securing materials. There are now many commendable bibliographies available and I am sure you have become familiar with some of them. One compiled by Elizabeth W. Miller for the American Academy of Arts and Sciences is highly praiseworthy. Its title is The Negro in America and it is published by the Harvard University Press. It is a most comprehensive work, providing a listing of books to cover such diverse topics as background, inter-group relations, rural problems, and the freedom revolution and others. Knowing how to get materials is one thing and having one's requisition fulfilled is another. Fortunately, the Pine Bluff High School library contains some basic materials on the Negro. I was able to influence the order of some others. However, some of the materials that I needed were supplied by the librarians of Merril and Southeast High Schools--all Negro high schools. Funds for materials may be obtained under Title II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. It has been my experience that audio-visual materials are not as widely available as the books, so I have prepared a listing for you of audio-visual materials that might be used and the units with which the particular films or filmstrips might be used. I hope that when you receive the list, you will find some use for it.

As to methods and procedures, we use classroom discussions, outside reading assignments, book reports, committee work, charts, movies, filmstrips, bulletin board displays, and research projects. I used motivation through an old newspaper. You might be surprised to know that this paper is dated 1840. I have some others that I have accumulated through the years. When I bring them to class, this really arouses attention. Such a headline as this: "$200 Reward: An Award of $200 will be given for apprehending and securing in any jail in Maryland or Virginia so that they can be recovered, Negroes Peter and Moses belonging to Mrs. L. L. Turner of Alexandria, District of Columbia. . ." Well these will really arouse attention and interest. Then, of course, you can take off from there not saying that we are pleased with such things, but it did happen and so it is history. On book reports, I have a report here by a young fellow--Robert Cooke--a very brilliant boy and a very nice boy who was polite and white in every respect. I want to emphasize that. He wrote on Up From Slavery by Booker Washington. Booker T. Washington's name is taboo with many, but not with me by any means. These are his comments on the book after he had written the report:

> Booker T. Washington must have been quite a man. I don't know if I could have gone through the struggle he did to get an education. Then he still continued to fight as he built up Tuskegee Institute. Although the first of this book is interesting, I enjoyed the story of Tuskegee's growth and Mr. Washington's evolution as an orator most. Particularly interesting was the method of instruction at Tuskegee and the fight for funds. I don't believe that I have ever read any better speeches

than the ones recorded in this book by Booker T. Washington. I hope that someday I will be able to visit Tuskegee and see for myself what strides Booker T. Washington made between slavery and the grave. I know I am an admirer of Booker T. Washington.

Another project--a research project--was done by Lee Hutinson on the Battle of the Crater. He had visited the sight of the Battle of the Crater and had brought back much material on it. So he took a plaster of some type and did the crater and he bought the little figures at the ten cents store and dressed them up in the blue and gray and it was just an elaborate thing. It was really a worthwhile project, but there was one thing lacking there. So I had to refer him to something so he might see that some of those figures should have been colored black and he found that out and he did color some of them black. That was what I was aiming at. An outside reading assignment was done by Tommy Triplet. He read Slavery Attacked by John L. Thomas. After presenting various points of attack that were made upon slavery, Tommy commented (this was written, however): "This book affected me in such a way that it makes me feel ashamed of the way that our ancestors treated Negroes." Aiming to show the life of George Washington Carver brought quite a warm response. Charts were made and displayed on the relative strength of the Union and Confederacy, showing how the Negro aided both sides. There was also a bulletin board display entitled "Slavery Defended versus Slavery Attacked." On the side of attack, there was a picture of

Frederick Douglass shown, and on the side of slavery defended, John C. Calhoune stood out prominently.

By way of evaluation, I feel that Lee Hutinson's research project on the Battle of the Crater was a rather good instrument of evaluation. When it came to using the material that had been taught on tests at first some of the students complained saying this material was not found in our textbooks. I said it was found in textbooks so it was valid and we had the right to use it as an instrument of evaluation. Why would we teach it if we were not going to use it as an instrument of evaluation. Another type of evaluation, I feel, was the responses of students. The responses of students have ranged all the way from ill-concealed rejection to genuine interest and change. As Kent says, "If you believe that a man has no history worth mentioning, it is easy to assume that he has no humanity worth defending." We must refute both ideas by knowing the Afro-American's past and by giving it its rightful place in our day-to-day teaching in the classroom.

DISCUSSION I: AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES

William A. Bardolph, Moderator

Question: Henry Simmons, Indiana University: (directed to Dr. Bardolph): I quarrel with the scarcity of historical records concept. I would like to know why it is not legitimate to use the writings of some of the individuals who the last speaker mentioned, covering the 18 and 19th Centuries, and why it is not legitimate to go to the people to get their concept because "white history" is the pure history, they don't know very much about the common man, the revolution, etc. I think everyone in this room is a historian--every black man--because they may not have ever been to the old family homestead, but they could probably tell you all about it. They can tell you about "Aunt Sue" and "Uncle Jeff" too. So what has happened is that the historian has not gone to the people to get their history. I was wondering in your recent book that is coming out if you have done this.

Dr. Bardolph: When I was talking about the scarcity of an accumulated documentary record, I was talking particularly about the period up to about 1890. I would say that since then there has been a steadily accelerated increment of documentary materials. I don't know that I hinted at, certainly didn't explicitly say that it wasn't legitimate to talk to people about getting historical data. If I left that impression, I certainly want to withdraw it.

I was talking about the relative inaccessibility of the traditional materials out of which historians have compounded their heritage and that it has, it seems to me, been an inhibiting factor that has resulted in a relatively small output and reliance also on conjecture in many instances.

Simmons: How do you account for the approximately 12 to 13 hundred reprints that are now being processed on the market. The fact that the historical progression has rejected or overlooked or ignored the writings of Williams and Brown and Douglass and their original conversations. The works were there. I think what we are saying is that society has not accepted them as legitimate works that we can rely on.

Moderator: I wonder if we could reorient your question, sir, to engender a little additional comment. What would you rely on as a historian as data or as your source of data from 1620 through the 19th Century? From the 16th Century when, perhaps, the black person arrived on the scene, the American continent through the period of the Civil War?

Simmons: If we are going to follow in the context of our keynote speaker, you can go all the way back from the American experience. You can go to England with Vasa, you can come right up to the traditional works which were printed in document form now in reprint--Walker, Banniker. You can go right on up the line through Garnet, you can go through Douglass, you can go through a multitude of people dealing with the black experience. We reprint

those, but we don't use them as a reference source for the recording of the history of black people.

Moderator: I believe that some of what Dr. Bardolph was saying is, perhaps, what you are saying here too. I am merely trying to get point out in the open. There were so many blacks who made contributions which were not recorded because they were not recorders. It was illegal to record. They were not a part of the system, shall we say.

Simmons: My argument is not the writing of original history, there were many, many whites that were just as illeterate as blacks. Their writings weren't recorded either.

Bardolph: I would add to that, I think, one of the most fortunate developments recently is the availability of reprint materials. If they were accessible in the past and weren't used it is, of course, very much to our discredit. I think, too, of how little support George Washington Williams got. I suppose there you have an example of the first "scientifically oriented" historian. Before him was William Wells Brown perhaps a little less in view with modern conception of historical practice. Pushing that even farther toward our time, men like Carter Woodson, Charles H. Wesley, even DuBois, were not getting anything like the readership they deserved, and I think to be perfectly fair, we have to say that their books were not being bought in very considerable numbers by people of either race. One regrets the lack of interest in the history of Afro-Americans. It is a relatively recent thing.

I know that there are other reasons than the one I am implying here, but if you take the Journal of Negro History, Carter Woodson's valiant efforts way back there in 1915 when he founded the association and in 1917 when he founded the journal. He never was able to get any considerable readership from either whites or blacks. Granted that economic inhibitions perhaps, people were buying things less useful to them it would seem to me than a subscription to the Journal of Negro History way back there in 1920 and 1930. I believe it never exceeded six or seven thousand subscriptions when there were ten or eleven or twelve million blacks and one hundred and X million whites. All of them should have had some interest in the kind of monographs and some of the seminal studies that were published in the Journal of Negro History.

Comments: Jean Moore, Virginia State College: Being a musician, I was interested by this program because it seems to me that the history of a people particularly a people like the Africans is recorded in their music, their art, their dance. I was struck by the fact of the great exhibit of African sculpture in Washington. You know, the one that closed on the first of April. William Fair of the British Museum commented on this at the introduction. He spoke of the fact that this exhibit was incontrovertible evidence of what had existed in Africa. He said, furthermore, that those who relied upon the written record and who did not avail themselves of artistic efforts, invariably relied on statements that

had been filtered through western eyes and that was even true of what was taught Africans themselves if they had been educated in the West. I listened, I hope with understanding, to the emphasis upon the necessity for rationality among historians. I assume that historians interpret because when we read we come to such different conclusions. I have a shelf of books about Egyptian art and few of them refer to this art as being Negro or black, but Homer says that the Egyptians were black with curly hair. So I assume when we come to the final analysis, there is something that the historian does that comes out of himself and that in some way has some kinship to the poet. I just want to emphasize the importance of art because it has not been included.

Question: Raymond McLaughlin, A & T State University: (directed to Dr. Bardolph): I do want to emphasize this point. President Kennedy, before he died, in the Association of American Commentaries said that one of the basic and saddest commentaries on the historian is that they have white-washed history. With this fact along with what the other two have said, how can you account for the need of the historian to search for the truth in that he has left out a whole race?

Bardolph: It may be that I am the worst person in the world to ask that question of. I am a maverick in my own trade. I have devoted myself exclusively to Afro-American history in the last 15 years and I don't know what it is that keeps my brethren from joining me because to me it is the most fascinating strand of

America. I can't imagine--the thing is crowded with investigators--I really can't. I hope you don't lump me with those who do not share this enthusiasm of mine.

McLaughlin: I do somewhat! In addition to what has been said, I think that the question of historical research as related to historians--especially white historians--is that they always research information to support their own biases, therefore, we never get anything.

Moderator: Maybe this was a comment and not a question.

McLaughlin: No, I think I can put it in question form. How do you determine when to decide when the white historian does not divide research to support his own biases?

Moderator: To censorize this particular question, what happened to the seven points of admission that were made in this presentation--one of which was the fact that this is a circumstance that is admitted.

McLaughlin: He gave me permission to relate to that. I am a psychologist and the brother of a historian.

Moderator: So the psychologist is going to defer to the historian!

Simmons: I think a weakness in the presentation made by Professor Bardolph was that he did a very good job of negating. He did a very good job of avoiding using the emphasis on the historical method, etc. I went to the University of Chicago and I got the same mess. But as this sister was talking about music, dance,

art, etc., it is almost impossible to negate the reality of the marking of man. Black people live in two societies--white people live in one. So as a black man, I can talk about black people and white people from a position of expertise. A white historian has to develop that expertise and I am not saying it can't be done, but I am saying it has to be a concentrated effort. I think what my brother is asking is do they always do this and how can we be sure that a historian hasn't gone in, and we all do, with a particular bias and we search to reinforce that, and that is perhaps the point of distrust.

Moderator: Well, would you suggest that John Hope Franklin did anything in this area?

Simmons: I would have to, he was my advisor.

Moderator: Well, would you consider him a historian?

Simmons: I would consider him perhaps the most objective historian, writing from the point of a marginal man as seeing both sides of a situation from an objective point of view.

Moderator: But when we were talking of historians, I put him in the pot because he is considered a historian.

Question: Thelma Roundtree, St. Augustine's College: If a historian's approach and purpose are of scholarship, then scholarship is to be presented objectively rather than subjectively, and if it is presented subjectively, is it scholarship?

Moderator: You are asking historians who train historians what their criteria are for the development of historians?

Respondent: Surely.

Moderator: I do not know. I would just guess. Let me ask a question myself and this is not addressed to any one person. Is the only lesson, the only virtue, deriving from the Afro-American experience primarily historical? . . . . Are there implications here other than those which are purely historical?

Respondent: Yes.

Moderator: Well, we can concentrate on this, this is fine, but I am wondering if there are other implications. . . . Surely we have not to be digging into history. I am just raising the question. I am not suggesting this to you or anyone. All of the questions up to this point--although we have had four other panels--have been directed toward the historical basis and yet I thought there was a very significant concern expressed by the other persons as well.

Respondent: I think that the points of scholarship are historical, mainly anthropological, sociological, humanistically, and perhaps aesthically grounded, but beneath it all the information would be historical and anthropological.

Question: George Breathett, Bennett College: (directed to Damas): There are those who now talk about the concept of Negritude as being passe, others talk about new directions with regards to the concept of Negritude. Would you like to speak of that in any way?

Damas: Many people who know nothing about Negritude speak about Negritude. While we are not in a civilization of mass media--television, radio, and so on, the young people and some elders

don't really know--I am ashamed for my generation saw many things, knew many things about the Afro-American concept and civilization. We, in Paris, used to receive The Crisis, The Opportunity, The Amsterdam News and many things from the United States.

Negritude is the transversion of the Harlem Renaissance, of Afro-Cubanisme, of the Brazilian movement and rhythm and so on. Negritude is a French word. This word comes from Cesaire who, in one of his books, wrote that he was taking care of the problem of classes in the West Indies--mulattoes, blacks, and whites--opposed one to the other by colonial slavery. He said that anyone who had a single drop of Negro blood has to rehabilitate not only the word but the race and we, who suffered a great deal from slavery in the French colonial system, we of our generation, Cesaire and I, tried to rehabilitate this word "Negra" in French. Black in French is a jewel for us. We are not black. There is not a black race but a Negro race.

The word Negritude took on importance in the 1930's when we created the L'Etudiant Noir, (The Black Student). But from Jean Paul Satre in Orphee Noir when we created The Black Student in the 1930's, we took the word "New Negro" of Alain Locke. We were proud to be New Negroes. Just because we received many things from the States and we are proud to see the American Negroes, now Blacks. We were proud to see how big your effort was. We were proud to receive the music--jazz--, spirituals, and blues. We were accustomed, without trying to be Americanized, to receiving

many things from the States. We tried to imitate you but our problems were not your problems, your system was not our system. We were in France because we had no universities at home. We were obliged to go to France, to Europe to study. And we were in Surbonne with white people. We lived the same life as the white people. We had the same diploma to acquire. We were to receive or to take from European culture and to make of this culture what we were to do with it to bring into this culture something else and in this way of the French language. I will now recognize that Cesaire and I and Senghor, by the way of Negritude, were taking this French language and we have given to this language our own personality, and this language is much richer now than before. That is one aspect of the contribution of the West Indian and the African to the American culture. Well, I suppose I never said that--we never said that--Negritude was just an end for us. But now and yesterday, I was surprised to see our own people--black and white--looking at television to see the cosmonauts coming down from the moon and everybody praying for their coming back. And this was very, very important. You know, when I hear, on my visit here, of the black community, of the white community, I am ashamed. I am ashamed just because right now we are in an interplanetary age. We are to cooperate.

"THE STUDY OF HAITI . . . A Bridge Between . . .
African Traditions . . . and Afro-American Experience. . ."

In trying to tie together these two divisions of our interest--Afro-American Studies and African Studies, I can think of no better way of tying these together than to insert a study of Haiti.

Here we have a small country, a black country that has remained very close to Africa in that the people, the majority of the people have maintained and retained much of their African culture, the African traditions--much more so than you will find among Afro-Americans in the United States and on the American continent itself.

This small country, of course, is important in another way. Here we have a real revolution, a country that organized, carried out a revolution for its independence and did this successfully, driving out the French who tried to maintain the inhabitants in slavery. After this the country was organized by an excellent administrator, we all know about him, Toussaint l'Ouverture who brought peace, prosperity to his country uniting the blacks, the Latins, and the whites--something that had not been done by anyone else.

There are all reasons to believe that the country would have progressed in that way had it not been for the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte who was determined to re-establish slavery in all the

West Indies belonging to the French. In doing so he sent his brother-in-law to arrest Toussaint l'Ouverture to take him back to France. Then the real independence of the country took place led by Jean Jacques Dessalines, who was probably more cruel than people would like to be. But this was the only way that he could fight the French and get the French out of his country permanently. He carried us through the empire of his country. After his death, his country turned to the monarchy with King Henri Christophe, a man who accomplished a feat that engineers today don't see how it could have been done. He built a fort at the crown of a very high mountain. No one knows how he arrived at getting his materials up there to build a fortress to protect his country from attacks by France or by any other country. This is what has been termed the eighth wonder of the world because engineers don't see how it could have been built.

After the death of Christophe the country became a republic all managed by blacks, ruled by blacks, with all the problems that attended the government. Their problem, of course, was the problem of being recognized by other governments and, as you might know, one of the least to recognize this country was the United States of America. Because here was an example of independent blacks ruling their own country and seemingly not having any more difficulty than other countries ruled by whites. Problems attended the country, however--the government--even until the middle of the

first of the present century when finally the United States Marines occupied the island and remained there for 17 years.

It is this act largely that caused a flourishing body of literature to be produced in Haiti. There had been literature before that but it was simply a pale copy of French literature. The poets, the writers could have easily been taken for minor French writers. But after the occupation, after the insults by the American Marines, after being told that they were not men but black people and therefore inferior to the white men who had come into their midst, these young men decided that they wanted to find something in their background, a place within their background where the white man could not enter. They sought in their African heritage, their African traditions, the African customs, a means of revitalizing their arts. This was a very successful experience that meant much to the new literature of that country.

As it happened, most of the young writers were in Paris and they met many of the people whom Leon Damas mentioned to us this morning. They met other people of similar background, African and French traditions. They had been inspired by the essays of Dr. Price-Mars who had taught many of these young men and had later collected his essays in Ainis parla l'Oncle. They became familiar with what was going on in the United States among black people, among black writers. Fortunately, many of the poems of Claude McKay and Langston Hughes had been translated into French and had been included in an article in the Review to Paris by Frank Snell.

Dr. Price-Mars himself wrote three articles in the Review in Haiti giving translations from outstanding black writers in the United States.

So these young men felt that they were no longer colored Frenchmen but they were Haitians. They began to produce for their country a literature that has proved to be an independent literature well worth knowing and one that is generally at our disposal through translation for those of us who cannot read the French. Here we have a people who knew the United States, who suffered from the United States, who served as somewhat a bridge between their African traditions and their Afro-American cousins. This country, its literature, can well serve us as a source of information to tie together the culture of these two bodies that we are studying--the culture of Afro-Americans and the culture of Africans.

APPROACHES TO AFRICAN LITERATURE

Bakare Yusuf

I want to speak on "Approaches to African Literature." I would first say that I should have written African Literatures because of the plurality of literatures in Africa. Africans are varied. They write now in different languages--European languages and African languages. Before that, centuries before that, there was a very wealthy body of literatures in the African languages in oral traditions. So, I should say "Approaches to African Literatures."

While on this topic, I would add a subtitle that I had in mind and which should be mentioned here . . . "Is there an African Approach to African Literature"? This may sound to some of you as a futile purification but it is not because many people are becoming interested in this body of literature in spite of the fact that many of the people think there is no such thing as African Literature. I often hear that too, but I am not talking to that group of people. I think I am talking to a group of people who are to an extent aware of the existence of African Literatures. So many different people are interested in this literature and are writing about it. These people are from different nationalities and different races. Not very long ago I received a couple of letters, one from Russia--from a Russian university and one from

Czechoslovakia--from graduate students who are interested in writing Ph.D. dissertations in African literature under the supervision of some professors from Russia and Czechoslovakia. So this problem is a problem that we confront of what kind of approach to give to this literature. Who are the people who are entitled to study this literature? And is there a specific way of studying it and what are the qualifications for it?

Most critics and students of African Literature today distinguish between what is usually referred to as Modern African Literature, that is, the poems, novels, short stories, plays written by Negro-Africans; and traditional African Literature, that is, the rich and--in many places--still flourishing legacy of African oral traditions which comprised famous epics like that of the Malinké Sundiata Keita, the Fulani Samba Full or the Zulu Chaka, the ritual chants, the proverbs, riddles and sayings, the enormous reservoir of tales and fables, the maxims and teachings of legendary thinkers like those of the Wolof Kothie Barma, Masséni or Birame Thiam Demba who are still quoted in conversations among the Wolof speaking peoples of Gambia and Sénégal. A few of these Wolof maxims were first written down and translated into French in the 1850's by an Abbé Boilat who served in Sénégal as a missionary and educator for several decades, then retired in Bordeaux (France). It is indeed quite à propos to mention here the remarkable case of Abbé Boilat. A real Frenchman in many ways, he spoke very highly of France, his mother country and of her great civilizing mission in Africa. But

He also held the conviction that, as 'un enfant du Sénégal' it was his duty to make the French people of metropolitan France aware and respectful of the cultural riches of the Wolof. His own respect and admiration for this culture are apparent in many pages of his two works; and he wrote with obvious pride that "the Wolof Language is my mother-tongue; with it I lisped in my childhood . . ."

Abbé Boilat was a mulatto. He belonged to that same 'métis' and 'assimilé' community of Saint-Louis-du Sénégal where originated some illustrious architects of early French penetration in West Africa. In spite of a profound assimilation to French culture and life style, they have always kept strong cultural ties with their African brothers in one form or other. One very interesting example of this cultural attachment is the Griot's 'song' - chant en l'honneur de Rose Allain transcribed and annotated by Abbé Boilat in the third part of his Grammaire de la langue Woloffe. The 'song' or 'poem' starts with the following lines:

1. Heiress of Biram, of Yacine-Ndoye and of Mahongué who was wounded at the battle of Kounoune.
2. Rose, the youngest daughter of Marie-Paul, sacrificed her fortune for the glory of her father.

Abbé Boilat notes that Rose Allaine's father was a respectable retired officer under Napoleon I; a surgeon of repute and former mayor of Saint-Louis. It is interesting to note that the griot - or 'poet' as Abbé Boilat refers to him in his comments - starts

by praising the paternal forbears of Rose; later he will refer to her maternal forbears; but in both cases only the Wolof ancestry of Rose is considered; nothing is said about the French ancestry of the Allain family.

For the purpose of this paper it will be of interest to reproduce the whole poem together with Abbé Boilat's French translation and highly informative comments.

Regarding Modern African Literature, Mme. Lylian Lagneau-Kesteloot believes that the European critic may be fairly competent in his appreciation--and what she says here about the European critic obviously applies for the non-African critic in general. However, this critic has to proceed very cautiously 'in order not to be carried astray by his philosophical ideas, his instinctive reactions, his taste for the picturesque, his humanitarian ambitions.'

With these precautions in mind, she proposes a set of criteria which are in fact universal but not exhaustive: i.e., the non-African critic can evaluate Modern African poetry by its genuine imagery and rhythm; and prose by its development, plot and characterization and by the relevance of the problems dealt with by the writer.

But in the matter of traditional literature, the non-African critic will come across a number of pitfalls out of which only the Africans themselves can help him. It is Mme. Kesteloot's conviction that any conscientious critic of African Literature

will sooner or later feel the need to explore the oral traditions. This conviction is fortunately shared by many.

Mme. Kesteloot finally advocates that 'none but African critics of will succeed in "distilling the full essence, savour, significance and poetry, 'la succulence des fruits' of their ancestral heritage, for the greater glory of world literature."

At this point, the following reminder may not be at all superfluous with regard to our purpose here, namely, that literary criticism is a separate and autonomous specialty or genre had no place in pre-colonial Africa, where the best qualified and reliable critics were indeed the public itself. This is still true of contemporary oral literature. I can think of a number of instances when a loud and tumultuous Wolof griot had to gather his belongings and leave as discreetly as possible after an unmistakably cold but polite reception. And after such a precipitate departure, it is not unusual to hear comments on the lack of talent of this griot as opposed to the great talent and artistry of another on whom one would more readily spend one's money and time.

Thus the literary critic--be he African or non-African--is indeed a new figure on the African scene, just like the creative writer. And both would be making a great blunder if they were to do their respective jobs as if they were still living in the 'Africa of the Askias'--to use a Senghorian phrase. It would be equally wrong to act as if Africa and Africans were mere by-products of Europe or North America.

It is a matter of course that the African writers who write in French, English or Portuguese are better known internationally than those who write in the African languages. Some critics of African Literature contend that the material treated in these writings in the European languages is often too remote from and irrelevant as regards the preoccupations and lives of contemporary Africans. An African critic who teaches French and African Literature at the University of Dakar (Sénégal) has expressed this view in a very forceful article published by Présence Africaine in 1966: The African Writer and His Public. In this article, Mr. Mohamadou Kane's contention is that having made the important choice of political commitment in the struggle against colonial rule, the first generation of African writers--more particularly those writing in French--and those who came after them, have dug an ever-growing trench between themselves and the larger African public. And to press his point Mr. Kane quotes from several other angry young African intellectuals. Thus Ibrahima Signaté in an article entitled La Grande Misere de la Litterature Negro-Africaine is of the opinion that 'the writer has no real influence in his own country. As the general public does not know the language in which he writes, his real public is above all composed of European readers. Such is the cruel truth: he writes above all, and to all appearances without remorse, for the attention of a foreign public; and this is so true that he awaits recognition and sanction from Paris alone.'

Another young African critic asks: 'And today? for whom are the black writers of the new generation writing? Most of them are novelists; they want to show, describe, analyze. But where do they turn their eyes? Who are they looking at and who are their listeners? On reading their works, I am afraid it is not the Africans. They have not learnt from popular literature; so the powerful river of collective unconscious would not carry their digressions and would only lay them down on the banks like useless floating items . . .'

One other strong criticism against contemporary African writers is their apparent unquestioned acceptance and adoption of the Western artist's revolt against reality and often against society. The point that is often made against these writers is that they seem to forget that Literature and art in traditional Africa has always meant 'equilibrium and harmonious insertion of man within his surroundings.'

Other voices seem to echo these criticisms with an additional emphasis on the irrelevancy of the writings in the vernaculars as regards the lives of Africans in a modern African setting.' Professor Lyndon Harries, an authority in Swahili language and poetry has expressed this point time and time again in his writings and in his public lectures.

Fortunately for many a student of African Literature--both written and oral, both in the European language and in the indigenous African languages--both of these verdicts are inconsiderate

and in most cases, unfounded. For, on the one hand the 'reality' of the African artist--and that of the African individual for that matter--has considerably changed; and it would be highly irresponsible to expect either to always behave and produce works of the same vein as those of his ancestral predecessors. On the other hand, it would be just as erroneous to believe and act as if the past is gone forever and has left no impact whatsoever, not even a sentimental and sometimes genuine attraction for today's Africans--even the so-called 'sophisticated évolués.' Let us now elaborate separately on these two important points.

There is no denying that the impact of the writings in the African languages in Africa and outside Africa, is less spectacular than that of writings in the European languages--for a number of obvious reasons among which are the use of these works in the local African schools and universities, their accessibility and availability beyond the linguistic boundaries in the African countries themselves and beyond. One should not, however, underestimate the enthusiastic reception and influence that some of the writers using African languages have found amongst their own people and sometimes far beyond--when they have been lucky enough to have their works given the careful expert translations they deserved. The most eloquent example is undoubtedly Thomas Mofolo's novel Chaka written and published in Sesuto in South Africa in 1925. Thanks to the invaluable English and French translations by H. F. Dutton (1931) and V. Ellenberger (1940) respectively,

Mofolo's Chaka was to become the first source of information on the fascinating Zulu leader--'the Black Napoleon'--of the 1820's for many African intellectuals and writers throughout the continent.

The cases of the late Yoruba author Chief Fagunwa and of Amos Tutuola are interesting to examine here. Both are Yoruba. Both borrow very abundantly from the traditional Yoruba stock of imagery and humour. Both also add to this stock through their own imagination as well as through their acquaintance with European tales and myths. But Chief Fagunwa wrote all his stories in Yoruba and though widely read by Yoruba speakers and readers, not a single complete work of his has so far been translated into another language; while Tutuola's books are written in a very personal English which is neither the Queen's English--very far from it--nor a standardized form of Nigerian "pidgin." In spite of the reservations with which most Africans view his works, the author of The Palm Wine Drinkard is much better known internationally and among non-Yoruba speaking Africans than the author of Igbo Olodumare. And there is no doubt that Tutuola has read Fagunwa before writing The Palm Wine Drinkard.

Let us add to the examples mentioned above, the brilliant achievements of writers such as Birago Diop, Bernard Dadié, Djibril Tamsir Niane, Wole Soyinka and J. P. Clark when they draw with inspiration from their respective traditional backgrounds; the spontaneous approach of writers like the Congolese poet Gérald

Tchicaya-U'Tamsi whose works bear the indelible mark of the traditional African poet's approach. All this should make us beware of too hasty a conclusion as to a definitive total rupture with the past in Africa--whether one is considering Literature and the arts or the social structures. For though there is no denying that African societies have been undergoing a deep transformation since their first brutal contact with Western civilization, there still are 'griots' and traditional poets and storytellers. It is nevertheless incontestable that their number, their patronage by individual Africans, the enthusiasm that the greatest among them used to raise among the African public, are now rapidly decreasing.

Thus, Africans are today more and more inclined to adopt forms of entertainment more compatible with the new life in the African cities. There are of course the new entertainments directly imported from Europe: the movie theatres, the 'discotheques,' the soccer and basketball games, etc. But there are also the modernized versions of traditional African forms of entertainment. In this respect "African Wrestling"--'la lutte Africaine'--in Sénégal is a very good example.

True, it is undeniable that the contact of Africa with Europe has not at all been a smooth one; it is undeniable that the gap between generations has engendered bitterness on more than one instance. But it is also true that the most successful and durable works of African writers today are neither those in which the author displays a complete surrender to Western literary expression--be it

contemporary--nor are they those which are mere transpositions of patterns of thought and psychological preoccupations which do not belong to the African character.

There are of course--and there may still be in the future--some brilliant African writers who, because of their personal experience, the environment in which they grew up, their personal tastes, will show in their works little influence of the traditional African poet, griot or maxim reciter, for the simple reason that they had had very little contact with this art. Needless to say that it would be a great mistake to reject outright, regardless of their genuine poetic and artistic value, such works as unauthentic and uninteresting. Here the late David Diop and his unforgettable little poems of Coups de Pilon come to mind.

But for all his passionate concern for Africa and the destiny --past and present--of his Negro-African brothers around the world, his unrelenting hatred for Europe and all that it represented to him and a genuine poetic talent and temperament, his poems do not evoke the eternal Africa of Birago Diop's tales and of some of his better poems. The poem Souffles is a significant example of Birago Diop's achievement:

> Those who are dead have never gone away,
> They are in the shadows darkening around,
> They are in the shadows fading into day,
> The dead are not under the ground.
> They are in the trees that quiver,
> They are in the woods that weep,
> They are in the waters of the rivers,
> They are in the waters that sleep.

They are in the crowds, they are in the homestead.
The dead are never dead.

Listen more to things
Than to words that are said.
The water's voice sings
And the flame cries
And the wind that brings
The woods to sighs

Is the breathing of the dead.
Who have not gone away
Who are not under the ground
Who are never dead.

Another poem by Birago Diop that evokes with equal strength this moving ancestral Africa is Viatique. In almost the same vein as Viaticum is Wole Soyinka's poem Abiku.

Night, and Abiku sucks the oil
From lamps. Mothers! I'll be the
Suppliant snake coiled on the doorstep
Yours the killing cry.

The ripest fruit was saddest'
Where I crept, the warmth was cloying.
In the silence of webs Abiku moans, shaping
Mounds from the yolk.

It has been argued that this kind of poem would always be difficult to comprehend for a reader not familiar with traditional African beliefs and customs. This may be true; but is some familiarity with Greek mythology--or at least some understanding of the major mythical implications--not essential for a full appreciation of Jean Racine's famed masterpiece, Phèdre? And to contend that one has to be Greek for this would of course be unanimously seen as utter absurdity and rightly so. What is most important is that in these lines Soyinka evokes human anguish and helplessness with

genuine compassion and emotion. The authenticity of this poetic evocation resides in the sincerity and profound comprehension of the human feelings involved in such a painful situation much more than in the anthropological expertise of the poet.

All the poems written by Birago Diop are certainly not as successful as Viaticum or Souffles. This is true for several of his early poems. It certainly was with regard to poems such as Saint-Louis or Impossibilité dated 1925 where the lines are perfect alexandrines and where the influence of Mallarmé and other 19th century French poets was still very strong that Leopold Senghor and Leon Damas told him that his 'poems were not "black" enough,' and 'that he should break the last bonds.

I would admit that here words such as 'black'--my translation for 'nègres'--may only confuse the issue. For are poems such as Soyinka's Abiku or Birago Diop's Souffles 'black?' And what characterizes them as such? I, for one, would rather submit that the difference between say Souffles and Saint-Louis is not 'colour' but harmony of content and expression. In one poem we have this harmony, in the other we don't.

But a poem like Souffles is not a mere translation from the Wolof, nor are Birago Diop's Tales of Amadou Koumba. They are recreations . . ., in a very clear expression that this man, Birago Diop, has acquired through his experience and his western education and that he uses very skillfully here, I think, to portray what he feels very deeply.

It is obvious then that what the African critic and his non-African colleague find worthy of praise in such a poem or story may be somewhat different. However, I personally do not believe that this indicates necessarily the adoption of different specific critical approach and criteria. For most probably neither of these two critics would reject Abdoulaye Sadji's statement that, 'the good writer is the one who can tell others and better than they, what they have seen, felt, experienced; who can even give them a glimpse of what they have never seen or dreamed of.' Likewise, Saunders Redding's opinion that, 'One valid test for the artist--the creative writer--is to make a silk purse out of a sow's ear' would doubtless arrest both critics' attention.

The only difference here is that, due to a much closer--if not common--experience, the chances of the African critic for a deëper understanding of the African writer's feelings and sensitivity are greater. And this difference is not negligible if we accept Lylian Kesteloot's remark that 'literary criticism is not only a matter of technique but also of intuition and sensitivity.'

Though the resentment of several young African critics about the present situation of Modern African Literature, when paradoxically, the European critic remains so influential, is quite understandable, we cannot deny that the non-African critic's contribution may often be as invaluable--and even more so--to the African reader as the critical works on say, French Literature by English, American, German critics, have been to native French readers

themselves, and vice versa. For native readers often learn new truths about their own literature by seeing it understandably assessed from the strong foothold of a different tradition--more especially when many of the authors in question draw also from the foreign critics' own literary traditions. And here again Chinua Achebe's warnings against the different types of 'critics' that plague African Literature and African writers, remain quite à propos. With Achebe I would contend that the critic of African Literature--be he non-African or African--has still to beware of dogmatism and over-confidence about what the African writer should write about and how; which African characters are 'real' and which are not. His easy dismissal of the first two categories of 'critics'--'the peevishly hostile . . .' and the over-enthusiastic, those 'who are amazed that we should be able to write at all, and in their own language too!'--would be even more justified and unquestioned now--that is almost eight years after the appearance of his article. Since then more and more works of calibre have come out of Africa, and people who write about these works seem to have become more cautious before doing so--and rightly so--as to their qualifications for writing about any literature in the first place. This in itself is an important progress.

Once again, my conclusion is that it would be most often irrelevant to try to apply to African Literature--in the European languages as well as in the African languages--the same critical treatment that one would apply to the works of contemporary

European or American writers. For these works do not emanate from identical human experiences. Moreover they do not arise from a comparable stage of an identical evolution. These works are not the products of the synthesis of the same series of artistic, cultural and historical data. Lastly, these writers who are living in situations that are often so different from each other, cannot possibly have the same preoccupations and the same attitudes towards life.

But finally, in African Literature today--just as in any other literature--the most conclusive test remains the following: How well does the creative writer tell of a human experience on the intellectual level as well as on the physical level without leaning toward anthropological or philosophical essay-writing. And Saunders Redding's ". . . to make a silk purse out of a sow's ear" applies here as well. A remarkable statement indeed, which, to my view, applies perfectly to the masterful descriptions of an unimaginary but depressing West African world filled with sweat, spit, rot, stink and excrements by the young Ghanaian, Ayi Kwei Armah in his novel, The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born. For there is no denying that those nauseating latrines that Armah describes with insistence and talent, have a greater symbolic significance to all those Africans who have not tried to "perfume this real putrefaction with the sweet smell of their selfish success" in today's Africa than this kind of description that we find in Armah's novel has much more significant meaning to me than the resounding protest of Jarry's

in Pere Ubu, when he says "Merdre". Well, when Armah describes the ugliest things of Africa today, this has a meaning for me and I don't say that these are inventions of the mind of this young intellectual. I say they are true and we have to read about them in order to know that Africa still has problems and that Africans should be involved if they are creative writers in writing about these problems. But they should not also forget that before them there were artists who created a different context and they can also learn from them too.

AFRICAN STUDIES WITHIN THE LIBERAL ARTS CURRICULUM: AN HISTORICAL APPROACH

Francis [illegible]

After having listened to Edris, I wish I had the opportunity of studying African Literature in high school instead of spending four years reading Shakespeare and the rest. My own interest in African History came in a rather roundabout way. I started first of all as a student of theology and I was in theology for about three years. I left theology and went into engineering for about three years. Then I went back into theology again, and from theology I went into political science and international law. Now my interest has shifted from law to African History.

My subject this afternoon is "African Studies Within the Liberal Arts Curriculum: An Historical Approach."

It seems to me the objective of African studies may be said to be an attempt to [illegible] in the student, through his classroom instruction, reading experiences, research projects, and other activities, a clearer, fuller understanding and awareness of the part Africans have played in world history; a relevant empathy with the struggles and hardships of the black race; and a greater pride in the achievements and contributions made by Africans in the fields of science, industry, education, literature, art, music, etc., and in helping to forge a consciousness of African or Black Internationalism--what you might call the African Diaspora.

I have chosen to approach my topic from the historical perspective, because history has been used as an instrument by white people to justify their evil deeds and to deny the African any role in world history.

There is still a lot to be done in assessing the contributions of Africans to civilization and the progress of mankind. An analysis of ancient classical evidence, and a systematic and scientific study of Greco-Roman records--literary, epigraphical, papyrological, numismatic, and archeological--from the Homeric period to the age of Justinian; on what the ancient Greeks and Romans said, knew, and felt about Africans; and an examination of pertinent findings of Egyptologists, especially for the Meroitic period of the Ethiopians (Africans) would indicate that the Africans who went to ancient Greece and Italy participated in an important chapter in the evolution of classical history. Such an undertaken in African studies would dispel the unwarranted generalizations that have been made and repeated by generations of white scholars.

To those who say that there is no documentary source of African History for that period which predates European History, modern research in Africana has refuted that argument. Africans were not without a tradition of historiography, and, that this is so, is now the undisputed verdict of true African scholars. African historians, by the end of the 15th century, had a tradition of recorded history, and certainly so by the time when Mahmoud al-Kadi wrote Tarikh al-Fateh. This tradition of recorded history was

incidentally much superior to that of the University of Timbuktu historiographers. Present research is bringing to light several chronicles relating to the history of Africans predating Europe's entry on to the stage of history from a stage of primitive barbarism. Of these chronicles, the most important and exciting traced down to date, appears to be Isnad al-Shuyukh Wa al-Ulama, written around 1751 by Al-Hajj Muhama ben Mustafa. It gives a detailed historical account of the conversion of the Dynasty in 1585.

There is also a need for an approach to the problem of African studies from the perspective of political philosophy. There is a great need for the development of a Black Ideology premised on eternal principles, the Standard of Nature.

I have been particularly interested in the period of African rule in the Andalusian Empire of Spain from the 8th to the late 15th century. This period, more than any other, witnessed the highest development of manners and mores reached by African civilization in modernity.

It might be an interesting, intellectual exercise for African scholars to devote some effort to the task undertaken by Socrates in the Laws and the Republic, to wit, the recreation of pre-Marathon Athens, even if only in speech. Such an inquiry could readily serve the need for the improvement of self image among contemporary Africans, and might enhance the possibilities that a Black City of Man might be actualized even though that actualization, too, is deperdent on chance.

The central myth in the mythology surrounding Africa, is that of the denial that Africans are a historical people. It is said, particularly by A. Toynbee, that whereas other continents have shaped history and determined its course, Africa has stood, held down by inertia. Africa, it is said, entered history only as a result of European contact. Its history, therefore, is widely felt to be an extension of European history. And Hegel's authority was lent to this--a historical hypothesis concerning Africa and Africans. And apologists of capitalism, colonialism, imperialism and slavery lost no time in seizing upon this hypothesis and writing to justify the policies of their governments. What A. Toynbee needed to do to understand that the history of Africa predates that of Europe and that Europeans are late comers on the stage of history was to have gone to the third floor of the British museum in London to find the evidence.

African studies withing the liberal arts tradition should not be an end in itself. It should be an area of academic inquiry while at the same time radicalizing the consciousness of the students to extricate themselves from this miasma of historical non-existence and prepare them for the processes of nation building.

I believe that in order to provide a proper scholarly perspective in African studies, we must stress politics and sociology, for it is these two more than any other discipline that provide the framework for understanding social policy. This is not to suggest that the humanities should be neglected in Africa Studies.

In rediscovering and revitalizing African cultural and spiritual heritage and values, African Studies must help the student to redirect and reshape this new endeavor.

The educational philosophy which we devise today as scholars in African Studies must equip our students with the resources of a personality and a force strong enough to meet the challenges of our times. This is why I believe that in the teaching of African Studies, we must stress the cultural aspects of Africa. I believe that as the immediate embodiment of a way of life, "culture is the transfiguration of human preoccupations, the elaboration of certain specific and dated demands." It is at once part of reality and transcending it, and in engendering its own reality polarizes society and subsequently transforms it. The concept of culture owes its-being to politics, and politics is primarily a way of looking at culture. Culture reflects man's view of society, and cultural life cannot be separated from political policy. This is why I believe that the political must be blended with the sociological, the historical with the cultural in our approach in African Studies if we are to reestablish the individuality of the African and his cultural and spiritual heritage.

Those of us who went to school in Africa unfortunately did not learn about our people. We did not know much about African history until we went abroad to study in the universities in Europe and in the United States. What happened in Africa was a

peculiar system of education which subjected us, which prepared us functionally for a subservient role to a colonial master. It was directed at estranging us from our own culture in order to more effectively serve a new and alien interest. If we examine the record of the west and measure the extent of scholarly hypocrisy, we as African peoples cannot prevent ourselves from calling for an intellectual rebellion. But we have a vision, a vision of a better future for our peoples, a vision that enables us to reconstruct our original heritage of Africanists.

Human history, human society is characterized not by stasis but by a dynamic and radical change. It is not enough for us in African studies to be scholarly and intellectually minded; we must also be concerned enough to shout. It is not enough to understand institutions and processes, we must also seek to change these institutions and processes.

In the reconstruction of African history, in the teaching of African studies on the university level, our attempt must be to objectively scrutinize the record from a highly disciplined point of view instead of getting involved in emotionalism. Emotionalism has no place in scholarship. If we introduce pure emotionalism into our scholarly efforts in the study of Africana, we would have lost our sight, we would have missed our efforts and we would have failed posterity in bringing to the fore what our forefathers did, what our forefathers contributed to the evolution of man.

The record of African History and the part Africa played in the evolution of mankind cannot be adequately seen from a mere study of the historical records in English. I think it is important for those who are seriously interested in African Studies to go into the study of Latin, Greek and Arabic. If you are not able to read Greek and can't read Latin or Arabic, you may be able to have some meaningful understanding of African History--the evolution of mankind from the African point of view. But if you can train yourself in Latin and Greek, you would find that in the annals of Greeks and the writings of the Greek historians and philosophers, there was always a reference to the Ethiopians. The Greeks always referred to the Africans as the Ethiopians. If you have read the Illiad, there is a constant reference to Africa in the Illiad.

The only way we can really bring about some meaningful reconstruction of African History is to approach it from a serious, scholarly point of view and not from the point of view of emotionalism. Emotionalism, I believe, has no place in African Studies. I understand very well, at times, why we are emotional about African Studies but I believe very strongly that emotions will not get us anywhere in our approach to African Studies.

DISCUSSION III: AFRICAN STUDIES

[illegible], Moderator

[illegible]: I was interested in what you had to say about the efforts to change African history. That you not only had to approach it from a scholarly position, but you also had to scout and then later on you said that we should not be emotional about this. How are you going to scout without getting emotional?

[illegible]: We thought in a sense that we encourage our students to get involved in African Studies. Since I teach African Studies and I direct an institute for Afro-American Studies, I am aware of some of these emotional problems on the part of our students. My concern is to get the students interested in this field as a field of academic discipline. By scouting, I simply mean by encouraging our students to get involved. Getting involved doesn't mean sitting down and rapping with the professor, but going down to the library and digging out the material. This is what I mean by getting involved. Once we are involved on a scholarly intellectual level, there is no need at that point in time for being emotionally involved in this field.

[illegible]: What are your suggestions in connection with essential works of African literature to start an introduction to African literature?

I would say that it has to be approached from a historical, chronological order. You know the earlier works, but I don't want to give a recitation of bibliography here--I don't think we have time for that. But I would very much like to speak to anyone later to suggest some titles. I have become more and more convinced that to introduce Contemporary African Literature to students of any nationality you have to give an idea of what the oral literatures are of Africa. Of course, I know the difficulty of knowing so many African languages. As a matter of fact, I know only two which is not very many when you consider the number of African languages. But there are materials which are available in translation either in French or English which can be used to give an idea of where the Africans started from. Then you can start getting involved in anthologies. Some interesting anthologies like Anthology of African Poetry which we have two volumes, one in English and one in French. The one in English includes translations from the French and from the Portugese by Africans but does not include any translations from the African languages. So I really think you have to start with an idea of what traditional African literature is and get involved in those that can be considered as transitory like Birago Diop who really uses so strongly the African art of story telling in writing in the European language. You can do that also with Amos Tutuda, for instance, and then get involved with the Africans who, in their use of forms are much closer to Contemporary Western Literature like in the

novels of Chiekh Amidou Kane of Senegal or Chinua Achebe or Wole Soyinka.

Question: Do you believe that the current interest in Black Studies is merely a fad to American students and likely to die out in a few years? What factors do you see as being responsible for continued interest?

Soyinka: It seems to me that if we start African Studies institutes merely as centers for political activism to propagate certain political ideas, sooner or later these institutes would wither away. But if these centers are meant to become centers for intellectual growth, centers for serious scholarship, I see no reason why these institutes should die away. There are some institutes on the West Coast that have dies away because they were used primarily by people who felt that the essence of Black Studies is to politicize the students. I believe very strongly that the politization of the student is in itself a function of the knowledge he acquires. Now whether or not he politicizes himself to become a rightist or a leftist is only a function of the knowledge he acquires as a student and that has nothing to do with academic training as such.

Question: Comment on the African government's interest in preserving legends and tales and proverbs which only exist in the oral tradition and which may be lost forever without some special efforts.

[illegible] These of us who are interested in African Literature feel that there is a need for these kinds of efforts and I must say that without implying that African governments are not at all interested in this. I would say that not enough efforts are being made for this as we would like to see. But I think that even indirectly, since governments are helping to preserve these things because in many local African radio stations we do have traditional artists who come to the stations and who are recorded or who tell stories or sing songs or play their music. I know in the synagogue a number of these artists now who are becoming well known around the country but, of course, there are only a few of them that can be used. In a sense this is helpful because we definitely know that for economic reasons the number of these traditional artists is decreasing because they cannot find enough sponsors, enough people to patronize them, you see. The radio stations can't use so many of them because the tapeing is such a practical and economical thing to do. But I think these tapes are being used and can be kept in these stations. I also think that it is the scholars really from the African universities who can do the job and not the government. More and more young Africans are interested in this kind of work now and I think that this number will increase. I think this is a very important thing to do, of course, because I can see very well that just in the past 10 or 15 years of my own growth, I can see the difference in the approach to these artists. For instance, one old artist that I

knew very well who had performed all his life for the families that he specialized in, including my mother's family, lived a very good life and was earning a living that way because people liked him. But now [illegible] he is getting old, he says that his son is not that interested in learning his craft because his son prefers to go and learn some other skills, you know. He can see very well that he has nobody to teach his art, in fact, and this is how the disappearance will take place. The taping and the studies by African scholars and non-African scholars will help to preserve these things.

[illegible]: Indicate who are modern African nationals whose historical work is academically sound.

[illegible]: We have among us this afternoon one of the brilliant African historians who is going to summarize the proceedings for us, Dr. Obichere from the University of California, one of the few African historians who has written extensively on African history. There are a number of African historians at Ibadan University in Nigeria, at Legon, Dr. Dike of the University of Ibadan, who was the chancelor, and Emboahim of the University of Ghana, and a number of other African historians are doing serious works in this area. I did not mean to suggest, however, that there are no white historians reconstructing the history of Africa from an objective point of view--there are a number of them. Oliver, Davidson, and others are beginning to write African History from the point of view of an objective approach to

scholarship. Let me indicate that when I said there have been a number of British historians who said that Africans are not an historical people, I am referring mainly to the works of H. G. Wells and Arnold Toynbee. Now these people are highly respected people in the world of academia, but nowhere in their writings do these people give credit to what Africans have done. If Wells and Arnold Toynbee could write the whole history of mankind on the 4th floor of the British Museum and the 3rd floor of the same, the historical evidence and the artifacts are available to convince them that Africans did also play a role in the evolution of mankind. I see no reason why these people should be accorded that kind of prestige and acclain as being objective historians in the true sense of methodology of history.

Question: What is the influence of African literature in either European languages, French, and English on French or English literature?

Answer: I do not see any influence yet on these literatures, but I see a very interesting contribution to the study of literatures in these languages like to the study of literature in the French language, or literature in the English language. I think writings of the Africans in these languages can bring something new and something worth paying attention to.

Question: How do you like the new book, Le Devoir De Violence, a book which came out about a year ago in France and which was

highly praised by French critics and won a very important French prize, the Prix Modo, and why?

Mailland: I think it is a great work of art and it is also very indicative of a new kind of African writers and of African intellectuals. The generation of Ayi Kwei Armah, the Ghanain who wrote The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born. Is that of Africans who feel that, though they are very sure and proud of the African background, they don't have to only beautify Africa in their works and that there are also uglinesses in Africa that they have to give consideration to. The Devoir De Violence is written by a very sophisticated young intellectual, who of course, wears a special kind of smile. He is saying to Leon Damas and to those of his generation, "Hey! What about Negritude!", but he is doing it in a very artistic way. He certainly is connected with the new Les Nouveaux Vomens writers in France because this is the new group and he is very young. He goes out with them and knows their methods and all. But still I think his work is an authentic work by an African in spite of the fact that it is a very sophisticated French novel too.

Question: What is the interpretation of King Lear by a Ghanaian group?

Mailland: I have heard about this and I did see the play. I have also seen comments and heard comments of and interpretations by the Senegalese group. Another Shakespearean play, Othello, I

have heard much more about the French production, the one produced in French in Dakar and then in Paris too by the Senegalese group, and the comments were very favorable. I have talked, in fact, to the actor who played the main character of Othello, who is a Senegalese actor. I have the feeling that it was a very interesting kind of experimentation. My feeling is that Othello is a very African character, in fact, and Shakespeare with his limited knowledge of African and Africans of that time, has given a very interesting picture of Africa in that character. I think that Lawrence Olivier's interpretation is a good one, too, and I don't know what kind of inspiration the Senegalese actor had from Lawrence Olivier, but I would be very interested in seeing it. I think that this kind of experimentation is quite interesting. But this is not the only direction African theater should go. It is an experimentation and it is interesting. In this case, in the case of the Senegalese one, I understand from Africans who have seen it and from French people who have seen it that it is a success, but I haven't seen it.

Question: An African student once attempted to write his Ph.D. thesis on the possible connection between African ideas and the ideas of the Greeks. He was forbidden by his advisor to do that. The question is, is this sort of hinderance still commonplace?

Botchway: I have myself been very fascinated by the similarities in the cosmological ideas of Africans and Greeks. I have had an experience in this area. I was working on my doctoral thesis.

I wanted to write on Africa--my advisor said, "No", I insisted, and she allowed me to go on. I finished my thesis and I submitted it to her. It took her two years to read it and when she read it she said, "I wanted you to change five pages". I changed those five pages and gave them to her. It took her six months to read those five pages, but I was patient and I finally got through. When I did, I received a letter from the same school asking me to come back and teach African Studies and I said, "No". But this sort of thing is dying. I think more and more people are becoming aware that you can do objective scholarship on Africa.

THE DE-COLONIZATION OF AFRICAN
AND AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES

I am very glad to be among you and to be sharing some ideas that have been presented here. We don't know things when they happen to us. My brother who was speaking a few moments ago talked about H. G. Wells and his fleeting survey of world history. But it is the same H. G. Wells who, grappling with his science fiction of men going to the moon and the war of the worlds and so on, said that "when the mind grapples with a very difficult problem, it makes its achievements but in steps. And step by step victory is won but without the realization of this victory being won by the person involved in the struggle." So you have some universal truths coming from these people who probably didn't broaden out very much.

I have just come from another very exciting meeting of this type. In fact, Mercer Cook and I and Saunders Redding were very, very sad because Monsieur Leon Damas was over here with you. He should have been there with us because we went into it on the negative. It gives me very great pleasure to mention this particular fact and to stress also before I go into my structural presentation that the fact that this meeting is taking place is very significant. The fact that we had the meeting in Los Angeles last week from Thursday to last night is also very significant. I think the significance is so overwhelming that we can't even begin to use

Hollywood cliches in describing the effects. We had writers from Africa, from the West Indies, Black experts in Brazil, United States, blacks in all fields, and it makes one feel good deep down inside that your people are at last getting together.

The problem I want to look at structurally in the first portion of my presentation will be the question of the De-Colonization of African and Afro-American Studies. Towards the end, I will cast a glance at what has transpired in this meeting. In other words, try to see if I can talk about some of the generalizations that have hit me from conversations I have had with people and from listening through the last meeting. I have chosen the title the De-Colonization of African and Afro-American Studies because it seems to me that there is a very valid parallel, with apologies to my friends Makward and Monsieur Damas, those of us who were educated in the British system are not suppose to approach problems structurally or theoretically. We are suppose to have been confused with British pragmatism. But it occured to me that there is a very tight relationship, an amazing relationship--what the French would call in their own language today a relationship that can qualify as "formidable" between the actual political de-colonization of Africa and the thrust that we see around Black Studies and Afro-American Studies today.

Let me highlight the fact that there is crisis in higher education and this crisis is world-wide. It is not only in America, it is not only in Europe, in Africa, in Latin America, in Asia. In

Pakistan they did not only make bonfires out of the seats in the baseball parks, they also burned universities down. Even in Africa, one of the most misunderstood of African intellectuals, Leopold Sedas Senghor, had to close down the University of Dakar. So the crisis in education is a world-wide phenomenon. I think that it is in this context that of a total world movement, a total universal phenomenon in higher education that we can look at the de-colonization of African and Afro-American Studies.

The aims of education in times past as they affected the black peoples of the world have always had a twist to them. That twist has always had at its bottom a racial bias. Whether you are talking about the type of education that I received as a child or as an adult at the universities in America and in Europe, or the education that people receive in Guadalope or Jamaica or in Bombay, or in Indonesia or Malaya, you also notice this definite racial bias. That bias was a result of imperialism and this imperialism has been defeated in the world especially in the black world. The lingering dead pines of Portuguese and Spanish imperialism in Angola and in Guinea are things that we should probably look forward to as potential victories for blacks in the near future. The defeat of imperialism, therefore, has affected the whole total structure of the aims and objectives of the type of education meant for black people. In Africa, in the West Indies, and in South America, there is a re-examination of the aims of educatio -what is higher education all about? Even in France they have experimental universities

running in 'Vincent'. My friend Harold Weaver is teaching the History of Black Experience over there.

The colonial situation of the United States blacks has been brought up for discussion and highlighted and underscored by writers like Malcom X, W. E. B. DuBois, G. Carter Woodson, Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, and if you want to go to the "profane", the Black Panthers. I am saying the "profane" in quotes because this is what the "establishment" calls the Black Panthers. Therefore, the United States black is a citizen of America, full fledged citizen, can get his passport and rights to property and all those rights and promises of his constitution--the right to happiness, the right to this and that, the four freedoms of F. D. R. and the fourteen points of Woodrow Wilson. But when you come down to the facts of it, the United States black lives and has lived in a colonial situation. What is a ghetto? A ghetto is not an African word, therefore, you can't say the blacks brought that word from Africa. What is a ghetto? A ghetto was never applied to blacks, it was applied to others and now it is dumped on us as if it were part of our nature. That I object to, because it underscores the fact that blacks actually live in little colonies in every given American situation and if you want to use the euphemisms of HEW, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, they say you are talking about the urban crisis and you are not talking about the suburban crisis because there are no black folks over there. The situation, therefore, is a valid one, theoretically and practically,

to examine the situation of American blacks as a colonial one and to look at the processes that you are witnessing as the processes of re-colonization.

One of the arch-conservatives of the conservative party in England, the former Prime Minister, Harold McMillan, said that "The wind of change is blowing through Africa" and it would be playing the ostrich if we say that we are not going to respect that wind of change or that it is not going to blow us out of the way. Many Englishmen didn't believe him but in a few years, they saw what he was saying. In other words, that wind of change didn't stop in Africa, it gathered momentum, crossed the Atlantic and really became a twister in the United States. The question of education and politics, therefore, is a very important one, and if we look at the colonial education, we will see that politics was always there and if we look at education of black Americans and Africans, we will also see politics.

Very briefly, I have a weakness for history especially the history of the third world which is my special area of interest at the moment. But suffice it to say that the Boxer Rebellion in China was a revolution or a rebellion, depending on whose side you are on, against colonial infringement or Chinese culture. I date it the Boxer Rebellion as marking the beginning of the success of Mao Tse-tung and the failures of Chiang Kai-shek. I look at Central Europe, the revolutions of 1848, the collapse of Mettermich, the collapse of the Hapsburg monarchy. Those were beginnings of trends

that spoke very loudly even before Woodrow Wilson became president of America that self-determination was there. Secondly, in Asia we have witnessed changes in India, in Indonesia, in Pakistan, in Malaya and in Viet Nam.

Let me then examine what I call de-colonization and the new thrust in education especially as it affects the blacks. It is not those factions of the SDS called the weathermen in America who talk about what is bad. Anybody who suffers under an oppressed condition is going to talk about it whether loudly or privately. So, in Africa and in the Afro-American context, people are beginning to talk about the de-colonization of the education they are receiving. I would tell you that it is my conviction, and I stand to be corrected, that thirty years ago it would not have been possible to hold this conference at Bennett College. Any of the older people here can bear me out if I am talking from documents. But today the blacks at Bennett College whether they are professors or students are doing what the moderns call "their thing" and they are beginning to think of a re-examination of the aims of the institution in which they are operating and the other five institutions that are collaborating with them in this new venture. This is an aspect of de-colonization.

The new generation of scholars in the United States are asking a new set of questions and they are using new techniques of inquiry to get at the answers. The old bland withered techniques of "objective inquiry" which scorned the black man's emotionalism is being

forgotten if not dumped in the garbage can. Knowledge has no boundaries and I do not think that anybody can build any compasses, geometrical compasses, that would define the boundaries of knowledge. Therefore, when you define the areas of inquiry, you are arrogating to yourself the responsibility of defining the limits of knowledge. The Pope, you see, couldn't stop Copernicus and Copernicus wasn't a black man either. The Catholic Church couldn't stop Galelio for tempting God, you see. Some of you have grandfather clocks swinging up and down today! You know the punishment that the Catholic Church gave Galelio--to repeat the seven penitential Psalms for seven years because he was tempting the laws of God and questioning the universe. So people have tried to define the frontiers of knowledge, to circumscribe inquiry, but they have not succeeded. The Americans have gone to the moon, the Russians have circled the earth, and nobody has even punished any of those astronauts. And as a matter of fact, if any of them is Catholic, he is still receiving Holy Communion.

What I am trying to say is that this, in historical perspective, is exactly where we are at. People were telling others what to ask, what kinds of questions to ask, and what kinds of answers to seek. And we in the new black generation are not going to accept those questions you pose, we are going to rephrase them and whenever we are going to rephrase them if they will break in the process of rephrasing, we will dump them and frame our own questions and proceed with new inquiries. This is what the black experience and its

study is all about and this is the new thrust which I have chosen to call de-colonization.

We heard in the last panel about forbidden topics in doctoral dissertations. Don't think this is an American thing, anybody who knows the Sorbonne will remember what types of difficulties Cheikh Anta Diop has with his thesis. A good friend of mine who comes to teach some of my classes, Raymond Moni, is still griping about Cheikh Anta Diop's works and he has just put out another masterful work, L'anteriorite de la Culture Negre and Europe is reaping with pain. Anyway, this is part and parcel of the de-colonization. Nobody would have dared go to the Egyptian mummies, take a piece of the skin, go to the chemistry lab, find out how much melanin was in the skin. Cheikh Anta Diop has done it and he is telling you that those Egyptians "ain't white". In other words, what I am saying is that using the natural tools that we have received from nature, not from the white man or the colonial masters, we are carrying out inquiries that nobody can gainsay. Secondly, the Negro colleagues in the United States who are established for a purpose and they have always been dominated by the whims of the religious bodies and philantropic groups that established them. This has led to the situation that one has been reading for the last three years in Negro Digest of the call for the black university.

Let me also digress and indulge in the game of politicians by quoting statistics and saying that the United States of America is the first country in the world with the largest number of higher

education institutions of learning devoted entirely to blacks. Not only do the blacks in the United States of America have the largest single group of blacks on the surface of the earth who have the highest standard of literacy. Now, what use have they made of the literacy? Zero. Because the direction of that literacy has been tendentious. Let us look at the West Indian Islands: Martinique. How many people live in Martinique? Not as many as live in Gabon but Martinique has influenced the whole black world. Guadalope is less than four communes of Senegal. These have produced a cadre of educated men, one of them is with us today, thanks to God. These men have influenced our thoughts. I was telling my wife on the way over here in the jet plane as it was buzzing, I said, "I am looking forward to seeing Brother Damas again." Even before my mother was even married, he was talking about "give me my black dolls, my black dolls." No manufacturer could even comprehend that notion, but today we have conveyor belts turning them out. It seems to me that we should look for an insurance company and sue them and get all the rights to Brother Damas.

Anyway, what I am saying here is that these black colleges serving southern black communities really have to re-examine their roles in the community. I think that we have had a plethora of school teachers, muscians, kindergarten teachers and so forth and I think that we are going to be moving into the areas of deeper cultural theoretical inquiries. I am not demeaning the contribution of these black colleges because, as we all know, without them,

those of us from Africa would not be talking about independence especially in British Africa today. Because we have no colleges to go to and discrimination was not an American thing. So those Africans who came here went to Lincoln, went to Howard, they went to all the other colleges. They went to Hampton in Virginia and so on, and they became presidents and fighters for the movement towards freedom. Then we also have to look at the rise of new universities in Africa and the West Indies and so on. These African universities were very much in a similar situation with American Negro colleges but thanks to the younger professors who are pushing very hard, the curriculum is being changed and debate is going on as to the role of the university.

The de-colonization of the curriculum in African universities has begun. I talked with Pierre Fujie Rolas at U.C.L.A. Rolas is professor of sociology in Dakar and he believed that the curriculum was really going to be Africanized in Dakar, that is. In Ibadan, of course, Professor Makward who talked to you here, taught there for several years, teaching African Literature. In the beginning of that university's life, African Literature was not on the examination so that the university could not hire you to teach African Literature because it wasn't a subject for the examination for receiving your B.A. In other words, you were wasting time. African history wasn't there either. There was no African history. There was European history and the history of the British Empire. As Brothers Francis and Eko will remember, we know the textbooks

and we learned them by heart. We know them by memory--Williams, Woodward, Bret, British Empire. We know all the exploits of the British captains--Bunker Hill, the Saint Lawrence, everything, the Blackhole of Calcutta, but we couldn't tell you who the kings of Benin were. That's education.

Anyway, these things we realized and are coming back and in dealing with the black American situation, this is the same problem. I disagree very venemently with John Hope Franklin who takes the position that the study of Black American History should be patched on or pasted on to the main body of United States History. You see, it seems to me that he has justifications for what he is saying. You know, one country under God so you can have two histories. But, that is a fallacy because you have a history of the South. Wasn't it Calhoune who wrote the Social History of the American Family and was he separating the family from the government? Don't we have histories of presidents, the history of the West, the Frontiers, the Midwest and so on? Why not have black history as its own subject standing on its own feet! That's my position.

Let me read to you a very short passage from G. Carter Woodson who founded the John Allen Negro History and, of course, the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, a very important black man. I tell you, many of the black students up North who have come to take my classes in American history have never heard of Woodson. Never! But they have all heard about Charles Beard,

they have all heard about Stephen Woodward and they don't know who Carter Woodson was. I am quoting. He is talking about truth must not be neglected.

> In our own particular history we should not dim one bit the luster of any star in our firmament. Let no one be so thoughtless as to decry the record of the makers of the United States of America. We should not learn less of George Washington, "First in war, first in Peace and First in the hearts of the Countrymen", but we should learn something also of the three thousand Negro soldiers of the American Revolution who helped to make this "Father of our Country" possible. We should not fail to appreciate the unusual contributions of Thomas Jefferson to freedom and democracy but we should invite attention also to one of his outstanding contemporaries, Benjamin Banneker, the mathematician and astronomer . . . We should not cease to pay tribute to Abraham Lincoln as the "Savior of the Country"; but we ascribe praise also to the 178,975 Negroes who had to be mustered into the service of the Union before they were entitled to Freedom and citizenship. We should in no way whatever withhold assistance from the effort to make the world safe for democracy, but we should teach our citizenry history rather than propaganda and thus make this country safe for all elements of the population at home.

Now this was G. Carter Woodson talking at a special period and a special juncture of time. But I would oppose to him the theory of Oginga Odinga of Kenya. Oginga Odinga said that in Africa we have been leaning too much to the West so that our spinal column has acquired a curvature that no matter what we do, we are going to acquire a vertical position, we are going to have to lean to the East until the spine sets and corrects itself and then we achieve a vertical position. For the brothers who think that the only theoretician we have had in Africa is Frantz Fanon, I will say please begin reading our brothers. Oginga is profound and I think

that he has something to say in that little theoretical construct. So what I am saying is that if we are going to latch on these soldiers, you know the regiment, the Massachusetts regiment, who liberated that, who are the auxillaries who went behind the front line of the Confederates to see what they were doing and so on, the black man is not going to get into American history. Because all you are going to do is to start revising these billions of textbooks and adding one sentence here and there about Chrispus Attucks. Anyway, when you teach Black History on its own, then you can explore Chrispus Attucks, who was he and what motivated him. Then you begin to talk about Perry and going to the North Pole and you are going to begin talking about the Armistad and John Quincy Adams defending Sanka, the African, and you are not going to stop with John Quincy Adams' defense, you are going to follow Sanka home and see what he did when he got back.

In other words, you are opening up a region of knowledge, valid knowledge to humanity. In other words you are creating inquiry that will contribute to man's intellectual development. Academic rigor, of course, must be applied to the inquiry. As Woodson says, "We should not indulge in propaganda." It makes me sick to read Ebony and see Old Taylor advertising our black heroes. Old Taylor should make compensation to the black community. I will write James Foreman about it. Anyway, Old Taylor is selecting these bibliographies and making busts of them and he is not only selling you whiskey, he is telling you to pay for the busts. This is the de-colonization

that I am talking about. Any black student or pastor or professor who wants to study his past is not going to go spend $5 or $25 buying busts from Old Taylor. You can use it and buy one good book and nourish your mind. Anyway, this is the problem that I am dealing with. You have to de-colonize black studies, African studies and really make it what it should be. Now we have had American studies in the universities in this country even before I was born and there was not one single white American educationist who said what is the value of a B.A. in American Studies. Now everywhere I have been in this country people are asking what are you going to do with a B.A. in Black Studies. And I say, look, I have in my office all the jobs available to graduates in June of 1970 and over 2,000 say all majors. Therefore, if you are a major in Black Studies, and you have a B.A. then that piece of paper is valid for that advertised job. This is de-colonization if it is going to work. Secondly, it is my solid conviction that you do not need a B.A. in order to be able to sell "Fuller brushes" so if those who have a B.A. in Anthropology, B.A. in Political Science are selling "Fuller brushes", those with a B.A. in Black Studies can sell "Fuller brushes".

The other point that comes to mind is a beautiful passage, the author of which is among us:

> I feel ridiculous
> in their shoes, in their dinner jackets
> in their stiff shirts, their paper collars,
> with their monocles and bowler hats
> I feel ridiculous

> With my toes that were not made
> to sweat from morning to evening.

Damas was talking here about the imposed culture and I feel ridiculous that in the universities in Africa on African soil, we have African Studies Institutes. What a shame! In the United States, you do have European Studies, Chinese Studies, African Studies, because these are the paupers. In Nankin, in Peking, in Bombay, there is no Institute of Indian Studies or Institute of Chinese Studies. In other words, there is a colonial mentality and Jomo Kenyatta in that beautiful passage he wrote in Harambee, a collected volumn of his speeches, says that we have to liberate Africans mentally and Azikiwe in his own speeches talks about political resurgiments, economic determinism, religious freedom and intellectual emancipation. Now you see this is the effect of American education. They are tossing words but all you are saying is that the African's mind has got to be liberated from the chains which have bound him to a particular way of thinking. Now you have Institutes of African Studies in Ibadan, in Ghana and so on and they are funded from America. I am not saying that's bad per se, but it is funny to see that in the universities in Africa you have to have a little hut, called the Institute of African Studies, where you have to study the people who own the university. So here again Leon Damas was telling you what it felt like long ago and it is still like that.

So we are saying we are going to have a geography department that is going to be teaching the geography of Africa and not the prairies of the Midwest. We are going to have a history department that is going to be teaching African History and not Charlemagne and Alexander the Great. Those who want to take these as electives, feel free to do so, put them in the catalog. But, you see, to have African Studies as a thing--a museum piece--I think it is an abnormality. Most of the professors in these universities are white foreigners and they teach everything from African languages to medicine to nuclear physics and to African History. Therefore, we have got to de-colonize the universities, get indigenous Africans trained to teach in these universities. I have been over in Tougaloo College, I have been in Vorhees and in very many of the colleges from Knoxville to St. Augustine's. The students gripe about predominance of white faculty. It is not racism. I think they are saying something meaningful. If the white man has economic opportunities, he has knowledge to share, fine, he can share it. The black man should be given an opportunity also to share knowledge, to teach, and to help develop these institutions. It seems to me that the African universities and Afro-American universities (that is the black colleges) need to look at this whole question of the curriculum, their offerings, and their relevance--a word that has been very much over worked--of what they teach to what their students want. A de-colonization of these universities then must proceed at apace if we are going to realize a stable university

condition and a positive that will encourage learning on the part of the students.

Black Studies in America were demanded recently but they have been going on for ages. In Bennett College, at least, one shouldn't be saying this because people here have been studying black history, black music, Negro spirituals and black religion. But up North, they have not been doing it. This is the reason why it is a matter of a battle up there to get it going, whereas over here in the South where the people have the knowledge, it is a smooth transition. It only means enriching the curriculum and adding the things that are needed. Therefore, when W. E. B. DuBois was opening the Negro Academy in 1897 he admonished the black presidents to get themselves together, which at that time was lacking. That theoretician, Frantz Fanon also wrote very recently in 1956 that "the plunge into the chasm of the past is the condition and the source of freedom." And if you don't plunge into that chasm of the past and stir it and look at it and examine it, you are not really knocking at the sources of freedom yet. Arthur Schomburg in 1925 declared, "the American Negro must remake his past in order to make his future." Arthur Schomburg in 1925 was talking about black studies, the study of black history.

In other words, we are into a thing in which black people have been struggling for so many years and all we are saying now is involve people in it because they can really bring this to fruition. The direction of Black Studies, the control of Black Studies,

management, curriculum development, courses and so forth, should be carried out with consultation if not completely by involving black professors. White reaction to Afro-American studies has been very panicky but very many white intellectuals have found that there should be no panic about this because it is an area of legal intellectual inquiry.

The United States Senate has just taken a step which, in fact, has touched off all kinds of speculations about the future of the minority studies. Somebody asked the panelist whether this was a "fad." I don't think it's a "fad." I have done an article recently in which I studied the origin of psychology as a subject, the origin of economics as a subject instead of attaching it on to political economy. Political Science itself has branched from history and there was a terrible revulsion against this by academics. They say why have psychology. The Russians have not yet come up to the point where they recognize psychology as a subject. You can't study it in the University of Moscow even if you study it, it won't be called psychology. Anybody who reads the French paper Le Monde will see the perennial discussion as to whether you should close up political science or put it into history or whether you should dump history and have political science. So what I am saying here is that this debate is going on. The Senate has voted to cut off area language studies from all the centers teaching it. As a matter of fact, by 1972 they say they are not going to put a penny into the study of Latin-American languages, African languages or Asian

found out that the Queen of England was the head of their state and they said, "No, we are going a step further. Now we want independence, we are going to be republics."

So when you establish Black Studies you have answered the demand of students. You are going to go beyond that and make it a viable thing. You are going to avoid stagnation, you are going to encourage the areas of African and Afro-American Studies, what I have chosen to call dynamic progress. Neocolonialism in Black Studies is a threat because I am carrying my analogy to a logical conclusion. To those of you who teach Black Studies, Professor Makward, myself and a host of others that I know here, what is the proportion of students in your classes, blacks as to whites? I teach a class of African History and this last fall I had about 250 students taking that course. It is open only to juniors and seniors and graduate students. There were 250 registered there with several auditors. Now how many blacks were in that class? Twelve. So out of 250, you have 12 blacks. We have a university of 30,000 students. So neocolonialism is a real possibility. All that extra 230 students are going to become specialists in African History and they know it better than any person who claims to be black or who is actually black. Therefore, they will be more qualified to teach it than the black person.

Let me say here that in this area I am very conservative. I don't believe you can teach black American literature simply because you have a black skin. That is pure rubbish! You have got to sit

languages. A friend of mine reported very critically the way that Pace yesterday in the Angela address were discussing only with never took that the U. S. Senate is convinced that the Africans are not going to go Communist, therefore, there is no need [illegible] for studying their languages.

So, in order to summarize my views then, what I have said here is simply that Black Studies has validity and had objectives worth struggling after. They include the identity of the blacks, contribution of blacks to American history and to world history, racial survival and job preparation. Intellectual reasons include their position of knowledge, and the sharing of the richness of the black experience and as Ken Karenga says, to cover up white studies to make them look good. To enrich the curriculum of the universities, to reform and change the universities that have gotten into a rut, to enrich the social life of the universities with cultural programs such as this meeting we are holding here today; to encourage contacts between hither to isolated black intellectuals, black scholars; to help the American economy and its owners especially in the production of these millions of books on blacks that you see in the bookstores everyday. You see, this is helping fight inflation, though that may be a short-term goal.

Beyond Black Studies, what? And I think that has been what this conference has been about. There are parallels of de-colonization. The Africans, first of all, were not asking for independence, they were asking for self government. They got self government,

down and read the novels and digest them before you can even start talking. I don't believe that you can teach African history or African culture simply because you were born into an African situation--which is an accident of birth. You didn't choose it. I am Catholic. I didn't choose to become a Catholic. The Catholic Church was just outside my father's house and it had a lot of fruit trees around it and as a boy I went up there and ate the mangoes and cherries and I went to school there and was converted. In other words, when I went to college and started reading the apologetics and dogmas and studying Aquainas and everything there is to study in the Catholic apologetics and theology, I was rationalizing an irrational act that I took as a child.

Anyway, what I am saying is that you cannot teach African culture by coming from Africa. This is a myth. If there are people who think they can do it, let them tell us how. The will remind me of the Negro American folktale of the glowing ghost who comes into the house at night looking for a bottle of medicine on the mantle piece. In other words, what I am saying is if a guy who was born in Nigeria or Ghana thinks he can carry out a thorough exegesis of Zulu culture, he must be crazy! The same way, a black American who was born in Harlem, by that very fact, can't come and tell you he can analyze the Harlem Renaissance. It takes a lot of blood and sweat. You have got to sit up and read Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, Richard Wright, the whole couturier of the people involved in the Harlem Renaissance, then you can stand up and look

at people and say what do you want, I am ready. In other words, let's get away from this thing that I am black, I can do it. He ain't black, he ain't no good. Let's be very serious and I think we are going to grow above this very quickly.

The Consortium here, the Six Institutions' Consortium, is a very good example of what I call de-colonization. The talent for teaching African and Afro-American Studies is very, very rare. You can't find qualified people that easily. So for every little mushroom institution to institute its own program is really prostituting the whole idea, because a half truth is worse than a dangerous lie. That is what they say in Ibo, a half truth is worse than a dangerous lie which is outright, you know how to deal with that, but you don't know how to deal with a half truth. Those institutions who are starting these little petty black studies and African studies will be giving erroneous information, will be re-inforcing myths that have been exploded by scholars and other researchers, because they don't have access to these materials. Blacks have to be very careful, they should remember the black reconstruction in the South, they should remember the depression of the 30's. There is always the pay-off business. The whites are going to pay off black scholars, pay them off as readers, editors of series and all that, and just burden them with so much work that they can't even think. This is very dangerous and I think we should learn a lesson from the Indian experience.

Therefore, in conclusion, I will say that our study here of the motive force of blackness--those of you who tick when you hear the Impressions sing "I'm Black and I'm Proud" or James Brown saying "I'm Black and I'm Proud", should probably go back to what was discussed here about negritude. I think that what we want to see here is that this is an idea, it has come to us. The people who started it are still around and can help us understand it. So the arguments should be curtailed in the process of trying to understand. We have looked at Black Studies, Afro-American Studies, the teaching materials available for teaching these courses have been examined and there was a panel here that you just listened to. I also talked about the black assertion of blackness in the United States and Africa, which was discussed by Professor Roberts.

These things all tell one tale: that there is an inextricable intertwining of the black people, whether they are brothers in America on vacation, whether they are recent exiles like me, or whether they are Africans in Africa, they are black. The first question you are asked in the streets of Rome and Vienna or Prague is: "Negro Americano?", "Negro Americano?" And I say, "No, Africano." They say, "Oh! Africano! Africano!" In Rome my wife and I say this for the whole period we were doing research in Rome. In Austria, it is the same thing. I sat in the Peoples Park in Austria. Don't confuse it with Berkley, please. Voght Garten is a beautiful place where you can relax after a hard day's work in the university. People will come up to me and say, "Detroit! Detroit! In other

words, it was assumed at once that I was an American Negro and therefore I would be in tune with Detroit. Here I was slaving away in the University of Vienna Archives and looking at the museum and copying things that were taken away from Africa and trying to get myself together. Because they had seen the announcement of Detroit, that is the first thing that they come to tell me, Detroit! Detroit! And I say "Ich bien Afrika," and they say, "Ah!" Therefore, blackness is there and you can't deny it. I am not saying that black Americans are Africans. Culturally, no--genetically, yes, and the citizens of this country recognize him as such.

Therefore, this is an area in the future that we have to look towards the intertwining of African and Afro-American Studies making them one whole. We have studied them in the West, in California. Abdias Desamiento of Brazil, the black playwright who studies Deathro Negro de Rio is in this country in Wesleyan University doing his beautiful thing and has started reading his works. He has put out a little pamphlet, Deo Richas. These things show you links between black people everywhere. You can't study this movement in America today without referring to Marcus Garvey. He wasn't born in Greensboro. He was from the West Indies. So there is an intertwining all over. So we have to study the West Indian experience, the Caribbean experience, Brazilian experience, African experience, and see threats around us.

Now to end up . . . When you go to a white university, they make you take a course, which I call a course in myth making. This

is an American course and anybody here can bear me witness that there is no course like that in any European university. I am talking about "Western Civilization." It is not taught in the Sorbonne or in London or anywhere. It is an American-made course for a purpose. If you can see what I am trying to say, that you use these courses in the universities for political aims, for national aims, you can also look at Black Studies that way. Thank you very much.

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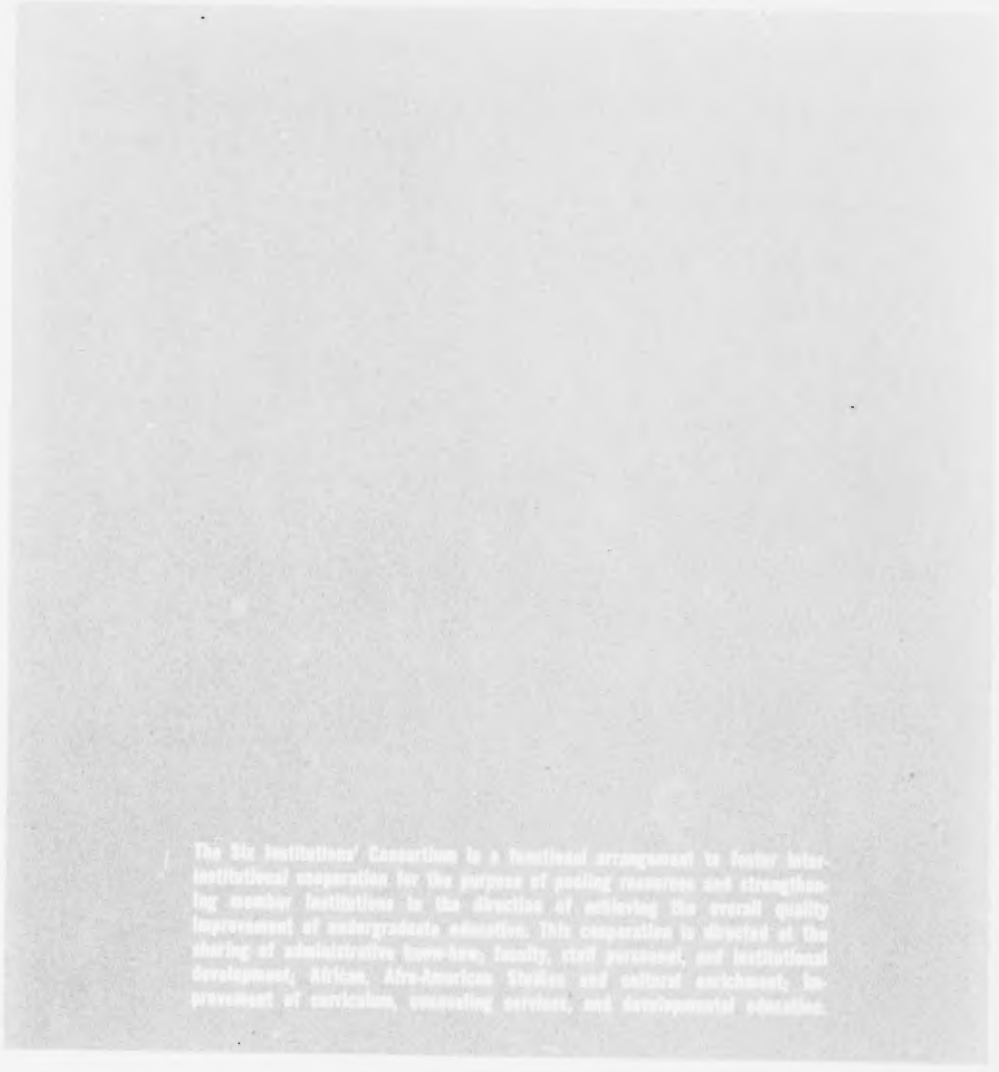
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